Chapter 4. The Presidio and the Civil War, 1861–1866

A Prize Above All Others

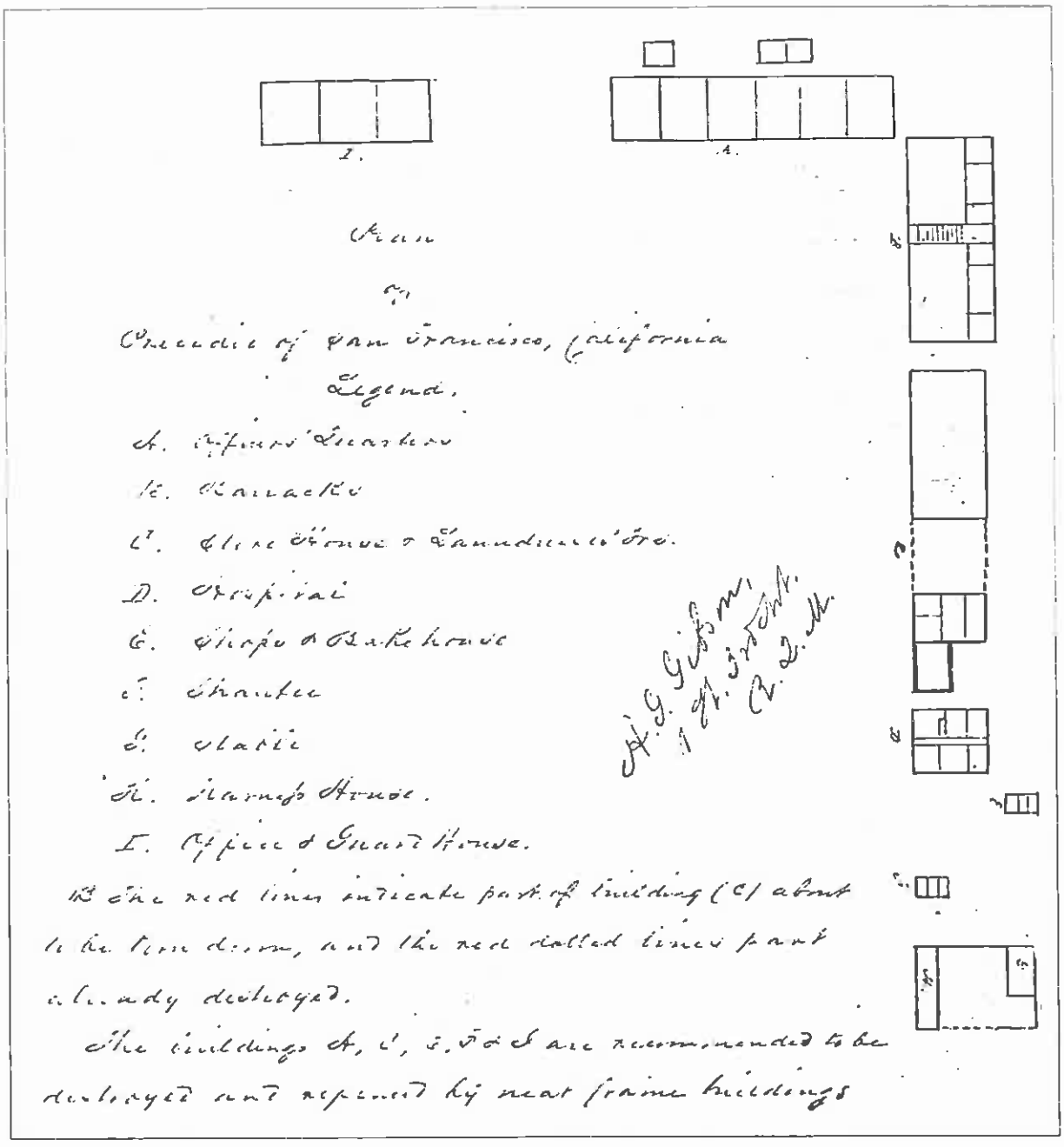
Beginning in late December 1860, southern states seized federal property, including coastal forts and arsenals†. On February 9, Jefferson C. Davis, former U.S. secretary of war, became the provisional president of the Confederacy. U.S. President-elect Abraham Lincoln arrived clandestinely at Washington, D.C. on February 23, 1861. On April 12 Confederate guns bombarded Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina. The American Civil War had begun.

At San Francisco, population 60,000, sympathies lay divided between North and South. Because of divisions among the Democrats in 1860, Lincoln carried the state. The Republican majority increased, and Republican Leland Stanford won the governorship of California in 1861.[1]

Lt. James McPherson, constructing fortifications on Alcatraz, wrote to Washington in May 1861 saying he believed California supported the Union, "The Union element of this state, irrespective of party, has come out in the most decided manner…and today there is one of the grandest and most enthusiastic 'Union Demonstrations' in this city that I have ever witnessed." He added optimistically, "I think there is no danger to be apprehended on this coast." The day after this grand mass meeting, the "Committee of Thirty-Four" formed to aid in the suppression of treasonable activities.[2]

Bvt. Brig. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, Colonel, 2d Cavalry, arrived at San Francisco in January 1861 to take command of the reconstituted Department of California. His sympathies lay with the South but he honored his oath as an officer of the U.S. Army and took steps to safeguard military resources in California. He ordered the removal of 10,000 rifled muskets from Benicia Barracks to Alcatraz Island for safekeeping and he asked the engineers to hasten the readiness of the fort at Fort Point for troop occupancy.[3]

Capt. Charles S. Merchant of the 3d Artillery, commanding the garrison at the humble Presidio in January 1861, counted his total strength as being four officers and 91 men. Two other officers, the 3d Artillery's regimental adjutant and regimental quartermaster also occupied the officers' adobe, now one man to a room. In February he received Johnston's orders



Lt. H. G. Gibson prepared this plan of the Presidio in 1861, on the eve of the Civil War. "B" marks the two-story, wood frame barracks built in 1854. *National Archives, OQMG, RG 92.*

to march Company I over to the new fort at Fort Point, leaving only 28 soldiers to man the Presidio. The company returned, however, in March when artillery troops from Fort Vancouver arrived to occupy the fort.[4]

This rapid manning of the fort may have resulted from the "ridiculous canard" circulating that "certain conspirators" intended to capture Fort Point and Alcatraz. A newspaper reporter who visited the point wrote: "The fort commands the entrance to our harbor so effectually that 50 guns can be brought to bear on any object, the size of a hogshead, within the mouth of the Golden Gate." As to the "absurd" rumor, "both fortifications are amply prepared for any such demonstration."[5]

The early months of the war brought the rapid movement of officers and troop units on the west coast. Brig. Gen. Edwin Vose Sumner replaced Johnston in April. In June Merchant found himself commanding eight officers and 323 men of the Regular Army, including units of the 3d Artillery and the 4th and 9th Infantry. Among the officers were future generals George Crook of the 4th Infantry, and E. O. C. Ord. of the 3d Artillery. Another officer, Lt. Lawrence Kip of the 3d Artillery, was the son of the ardent Unionist, San Francisco's Episcopalian Bishop William Ingraham Kip.[6]

That same month Engineer McPherson made a military reconnaissance of the coast from San Francisco to Monterey. He noted that enemy troops could land near Lobos Creek (Baker Beach). Although Fort Point could observe that area, fortifications on Redoubt Hill (also called both Telegraph and Rob Hill) and Presidio Hill (behind the post) would be necessary to cover that area. Ocean Beach, farther south, had heavy surf and he thought it probably too hazardous for an enemy landing. San Francisco, he said, was:

> the greatest commercial emporium of the Western Coast, possessing a magnificent harbor sufficient to accommodate the fleets of the whole world, the centre of trade for the Pacific Coast, and the point to which all those rich streams of gold dust tend that have given...California's world wide fame, would be a prize above all others to call forth the energy and daring of a bold, active enemy....He would of course land as near the city as possible...gain possession, levy a contribution...and return to his ships, for he could not expect to hold the city, with the Forts commanding the entrance to the Harbor in our possession....To accomplish the above object by making a forced march, it would be necessary to land in the vicinity of Point Lobos, on the "Ocean Beach," or to the north of Pt. San Bruno.

He continued with recommendations for a land defense including redoubts on the Presidio hills, defenses on the San Bruno Turnpike, and works at other strong points. Few, if any, of his recommendations came to fruition as the early excitement subsided; the redoubts on the Presidio reservation did not materialize.[7]

Union sentiment ran high in San Francisco during these months. On February 22, 1861, the 3d Artillery band played "Washington's March," "Hail Columbia," and "Yankee Doodle" at a Union mass meeting in the city. The 3d Artillery band also played at the large meeting on May 11 that McPherson described. Brigadier General Sumner and staff also attended the meeting, which the *Alta California* described as "The Great Union Demonstration," "California Unconditionally for the Union," "The Pacific Coast for the Stars and Stripes," and "20,000 People in Mass Meeting." The Presidio army band also played at benefits for the U.S. Sanitary Commission in its efforts to care for sick and wounded soldiers.

To assure the citizens of San Francisco that the harbor's defenses were on the alert, General Sumner led a group of distinguished citizens on a tour of Fort Point in July:

> The entire party went ashore at the [engineer] wharf....A stroll along the bay side for a quarter of a mile was brought to an abrupt termination by the frowning fortress, through the portals of which the party passed, sentinels on each side saluting their peaceful visitors. Up winding staircases, to the lofty parapet, all continued their steps, and continuous acclamations of delight could be heard as glimpses were caught of the gorgeous panorama spread out before the spectator. A pavement of solid granite, and concrete as smooth as ice, and as cleanly as a sanded floor, encircles the parapet, whilst the vacant centre space is tastefully sodded, and here and there adorned with flowers. The bristling sixty-eight pounders, showing their black bodies above the wall, and the conical piles of balls nestling at their feet, are, however, suggestive of war rather than peace. The cannon are not all yet mounted en barbette, for a dozen stout fellows were yesterday busily employed in getting one of the great guns into its future berth.[8]

One of the more significant events affecting the Department of the Pacific in 1861 was the completion of the transcontinental telegraph on October 24. One of the first war bulletins received over the wire announced the death of Col. Edward D. Baker at the battle of Ball's Bluff, Virginia, on October 21. Baker, a close personal friend to Abraham Lincoln, had been an early California Republican, an outstanding orator, and most recently a U.S. Senator from Oregon.[9]

General Sumner spent the summer of 1861 organizing his forces: the two Regular Army regiments — the 3d Artillery and the 9th Infantry, and the newly formed volunteer units. Because of inadequate facilities at the Presidio, several tent camps sprang up in the San Francisco area. Before their departure to the east coast, seven companies of the 4th Infantry Regiment from northern California and Oregon set up Camp Sumner in July immediately adjacent to the Presidio (but exactly where remains unknown). Also, the 2d California Volunteer Infantry Regiment trained there for a month prior to leaving for the Pacific Northwest. South of the city, Camp Lyons on Hunters Point and Camp Alert on the Pioneer Race Track near Mission and 25th streets became active, their occupants most likely being volunteer units.[10]

In June 1861 Sumner ordered seven of the 9th Infantry's companies in the Pacific Northwest to transfer to the critical Bay Area "with the greatest possible dispatch." This required the withdrawal of the company that, by international agreement, jointly occupied San Juan Island near the Washington Territory with a company of British Royal Marines. The War Department quickly ordered Sumner to reinstate the 9th on the island.[11]

In September, Washington ordered Sumner to send all the 9th Infantry and six of the 10 companies of the 3d Artillery to New York by steamer. The four remaining companies of the 3d Artillery would be stationed thus: Company B at Fort Point, Companies H and I on Alcatraz Island, and Company D at Fort Vancouver. Sumner reported that he was assembling the regulars in San Francisco as fast as volunteers could relieve them. He asked if he should ship them east as fast as he collected them.[12]

General Sumner's tour on the west coast ended abruptly in October 1861 when he, too, hurried east to lead Union troops into battle. Col. George Wright of the 9th Infantry, the leader whom Captain Keyes had so admired in the Pacific Northwest in 1858 and Sumner's brother-in-law, arrived at San Francisco that same month to command the Department of the Pacific. The orders appointing Wright directed him to "retain in his command the Ninth Regiment of Infantry, which is now under orders transferring it to the Eastern coast." Wright replied that he had seven companies of the 9th Infantry at San Francisco. He planned to keep two others in the Washington Territory (San Juan Island). Company E, however, had already departed by steamer for the east.[13]

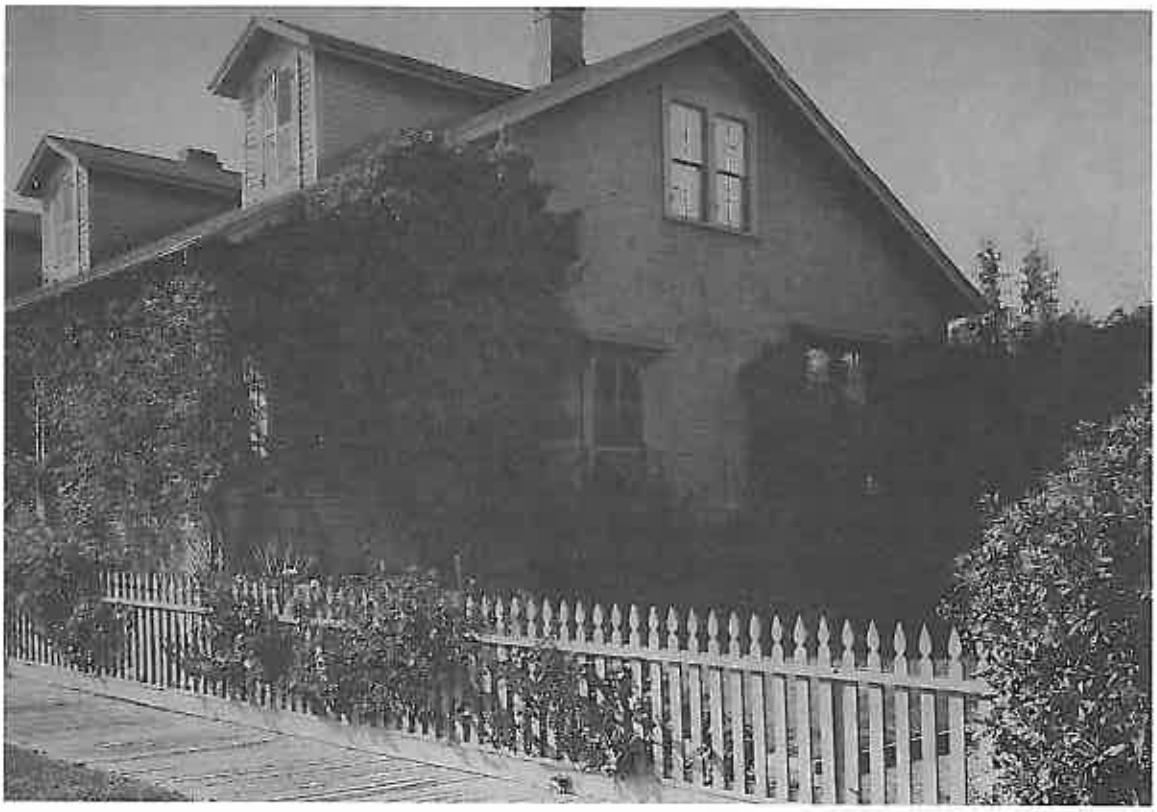
A California newspaper recorded the arrival of two of the 9th Infantry's companies from Fort Vancouver:

Brig. Gen. George Wright. *Collection of Dr. Harold T. Letcher.*

> They are composed of as fine a body of soldiers as we have ever seen under arms. Their martial bearing, and the perfect precision of their movements elicited...admiration from the thousands who saw them parade through the streets on their way to the Presidio, where they go into camp. When the companies arrived opposite the army headquarters [742 Washington Street], they counter-marched and complimented the officers therein with a salute. A splendid band preceded the troops.[14]

The 9th Infantry first established camp at Camp Wright, also adjacent to the Presidio. Most likely Camp Wright occupied the same site as the earlier Camp Sumner, the only difference being the name change of the department commanders. The first commanding officer of Camp Wright was Capt. Frederick T. Dent, brother-in-law of Ulysses S. Grant.[15]

General Wright's troop disposition during the war called for the bulk of the 9th Infantry to be concentrated at the Presidio of San Francisco, from where it could be dispatched when necessary. From November 1861 to September 1863, between five and seven companies of the 9th



Adobe officers' quarters (duplex), northwest of the officers' club and on the west side of the old parade ground, circa 1893. The adobe walls of this former building and the officers' club, 50, are believed to be part of the old Spanish Presidio. This building was demolished in 1906 because of earthquake damage. View toward the southwest. *National Archives photograph.*

Infantry remained at the Presidio. A smaller element of the 9th, three companies, maintained stations in Washington Territory, principally occupying San Juan Island with the British Marines. He kept three companies of the 3d Artillery at Bay Area batteries and one company on the Columbia River. Volunteer units maintained the peace in both northern and southern California and in the Pacific Northwest, particularly in Idaho Territory where gold had been discovered on the Nez Perce reservation. Two large expeditions of volunteer troops guarded the Central (Brig. Gen. Patrick Edward Connor) and Southern (Brig. Gen. James Henry Carleton) Overland Mail routes.

As the war progressed, units of the 9th Infantry transferred from the Presidio to various posts, particularly in the north, and volunteer troops replaced them. By February 1865 nearly 2,000 volunteers occupied the Presidio, together with Wright's 9th Infantry headquarters and band.[16]

Growing Pains

Little new construction occurred at the Presidio during the first half of the momentous year 1861. At the end of the government's fiscal year, June 30, 1861, the traditional annual inspection of the buildings took place. The regimental quartermaster, Horatio G. Gibson, undertook the task. He used both a numbering and a letter system to identify the structures. Except for 1A [50], these buildings are no longer extant.

> 1A. **Officers' Quarters**. Built "1776" [*sic*]. One building, today's officers' club [50] containing six rooms and three kitchens in tolerable condition in the rear. Quarters for one captain and four subalterns. No kitchens for two officers. Condition — bad. Low ceilings poorly lighted, badly ventilated, damp. Repaired at a great waste of public money in 1847, '49, '56, '59, and '60.
>
> 2B. **Barracks**. A cheap frame structure built in 1854. Unsightly. Four barrack rooms, two mess rooms, two kitchens, and two orderly rooms. Holds two companies. Too close to officers' quarters. Condition very bad.
>
> 3C. **Storehouse and Laundresses' Quarters**. Adobe. Capacity: contains sixteen spaces, not *rooms*, for occupation and storage. It is more dilapidated than the officers' quarters. A portion of the building was torn down during the year to prevent injury to the occupants and the public property from the falling of the walls. Another portion, on account of its dilapidated condition and its proximity to the hospital, which it keeps in a damp state, will be removed. Repairs made to the interior and the gable ends.
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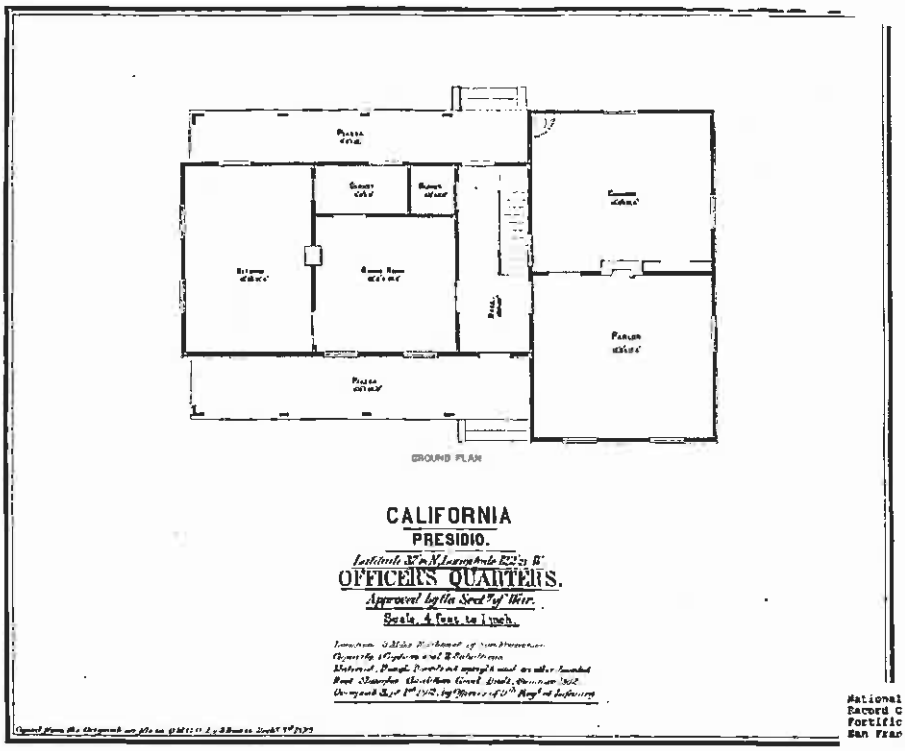
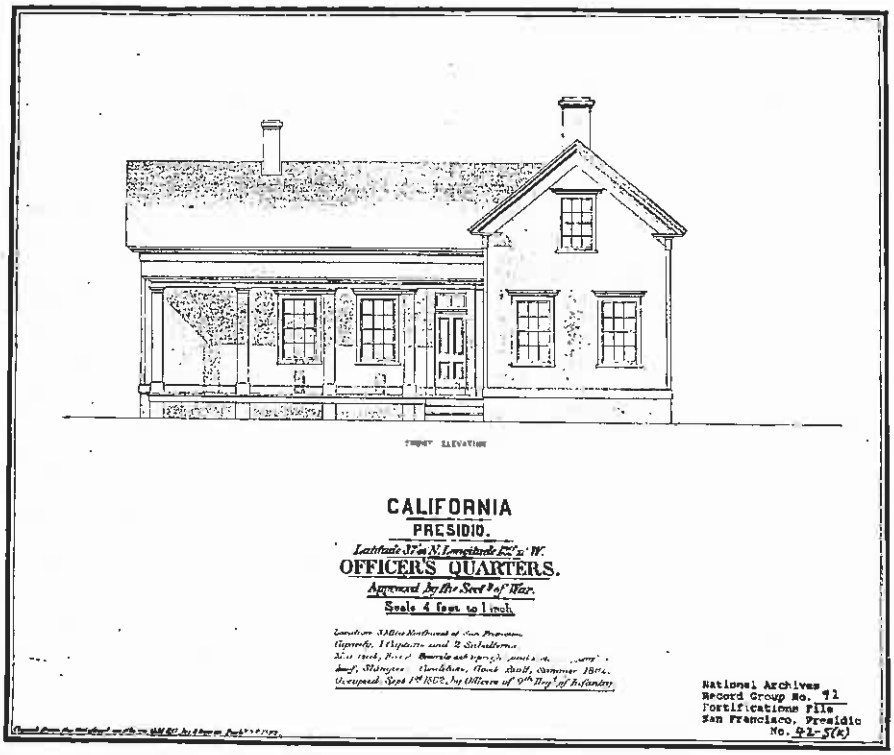
> 4D. **Hospital**. Cheap frame structure built in January 1857. Fair.
>
> 5E. **Carpenter and Blacksmith Shops**. Adobe. Unsightly. The *bakehouse* in the rear of the shops is damp, dilapidated, and entirely unfit.
>
> 6F. **Small Shantee**. Occupied by one laundress. Very bad. Unfit for repairs.
>
> 7G. **Stable**. Fifteen animals. Fair. *Harness shed* and *corral* now being constructed near the stables for the animals of Light Company C, 3d Artillery [which arrived in July].
>
> 8I. **Guardhouse and Office**. Adobe. Three rooms. Utterly unfit for use. Insecure. Close and damp.

A few days later Gibson enlarged upon the guardhouse description, writing that it was in: "A dilapidated condition and but one window can be cut in it. That will not furnish the necessary ventilation, and cannot be made in the adobe walls sufficiently secure to prevent prisoners from breaking out. The cells cannot be ventilated by any means. The floor is rotten and



Plan of officers' quarters. *National Archives, Record Group 92.*



Elevation of officers' quarters. *National Archives, Record Group 92.*

damp, and can never be kept in good condition." He urged construction of a new guardhouse.[17] While the record is silent concerning new construction in 1861, some activity probably occurred toward the end of the year.

The year 1861 closed with troops of the 2d California Volunteer Infantry occupying the Presidio while the 9th Infantry found a home at Camp Wright next door.[18] The January 1862 post return bore the notation, "The Headquarters of the Command were removed from Camp Wright...to the Post of the Presidio." West Pointer Lt. Col. Caleb C. Sibley, 9th Infantry, commanded the garrison composed of six 9th Infantry companies and one 3d Artillery company, a total of 13 officers and 361 men.[19]

All or nearly all of the command must have continued to occupy tents, for wood-frame quarters became available only as the year advanced. The original Spanish square was extended to the north to create a parade ground approximately 1,600 feet long from north to south, and 400 feet wide. That summer a row of 12 officers' quarters [5 through 16] sprang up along the eastern side of the new parade. The officers occupied these simple T-shaped buildings on September 1. Each housed three officers (no families at that time) although one building was probably set aside for Colonel Sibley's use.

The building plan described the buildings as being built of rough boards set upright and clapboarded. The ground floor contained a parlor, one bedroom, a hall, a dining room, a kitchen, and closets. Two bedrooms and a garret occupied the upper floor. A veranda extended along both sides of the one-story ell. During the war bathrooms were added to the southeast corner of each set.

Undoubtedly, soon after construction, unfunded additions began to appear at the rear (east) of these quarters — privies, storage, servant quarters, and the like. These irregular appendages were typical of officers' quarters at all frontier army posts. Sometimes the post quartermaster would scrounge the necessary materials. At other times, individual officers would have these outbuildings erected at their own expense. An 1870 map of the Presidio showed a variety of outbuildings to the rear of the row.

One other feature on officers' row remains — The "Alameda." Midway on the row, the army constructed a formal entrance to the parade ground. An oval alameda on which plants grew beautified this entrance, and to the east an ornamental arch spanned the entrance road.

Above: Enlisted men's barracks west of the parade ground, erected during the Civil War. The first two buildings, each with four chimneys, became the headquarters offices for the Military Division of the Pacific in 1878. View toward the northwest. *National Archives photograph.*

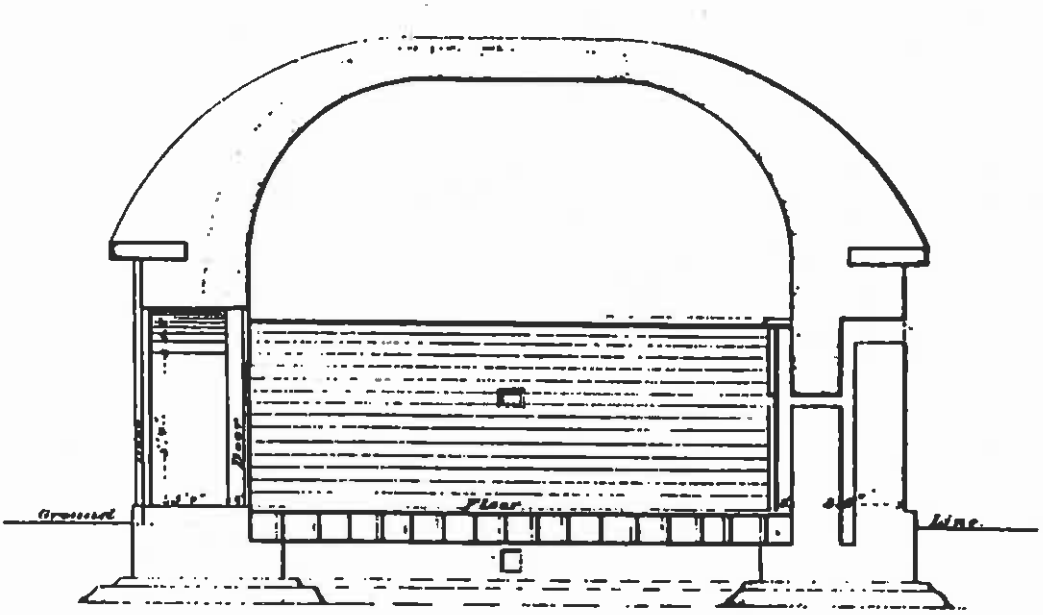
Below: Another view of enlisted men's barracks after conversion to offices. To the left stands a two-story guardhouse. Also shown is a portion of a wind fence that divided the old parade ground. To the right is a covered corridor that connected the barracks to the next barracks north. View toward the southwest, circa 1880. *National Archives photograph.*

Across the new parade, a row of eight wood-frame one-story barracks sprang up, also most likely in early 1862. They, too, faced on the parade ground. In addition, the old wood-frame two-story barracks constructed in 1854 remained in use. And in 1865 the army constructed five new two-story barracks at the south end of the row — three in line with the older barracks, the fourth and fifth at right angles to the rest (because of the topography) and forming a small L. Immediately to the west of the 14 barracks stood nine kitchens for the enlisted men (the five new two-story barracks had kitchens and messes in their basements).

The old adobe (2; no longer extant) that had housed laundresses, storerooms, and a guardhouse, had now been reduced in length and remodeled to create three sets of officers' quarters (one duplex, one single), each one story with three rooms. The old ramshackle, wood-frame two-story hospital, built in 1857, now served as officers' quarters. Described now as "worm eaten" it contained four rooms and a kitchen. Also in line with the barracks and toward the south stood the wood-frame one-story adjutant's office (i.e., post headquarters) and the wood-frame two-story guardhouse. A small bakehouse lined up with the kitchens and behind the northernmost barracks. A wood-frame building, 30 feet by 80 feet, housed quartermaster and commissary supplies, but its location has not been determined. The location of a wood-frame gun shed was also not identified.

A stone magazine [95] erected in the summer of 1863, stood a short distance to the west of the guardhouse. Its interior dimensions measured 17 feet by 20 feet. A space for ventilation was built into the interior of the stone walls and a wooden lining within the vault allowed for further ventilation as well as providing a precaution against sparks resulting from contact with the stone walls. A domed roof of lighter construction covered the magazine. In the event of an accidental explosion the energy would have been exerted skyward rather than sideways.[20]

To the north of the parade ground were four stables with a capacity of 200 animals. West of the post beyond an intermittent stream a row of nine wood-frame laundresses' quarters occupied approximately the site of today's red-brick barracks on Montgomery Street. When the garrison increased greatly in late 1864 and early 1865, new construction included the five barracks noted above and a large building containing bachelor officers' quarters. This two-story, wood-frame structure having a full basement, stood at the south end of officers' row. It contained 32 rooms, three messes, and four kitchens. Officers quickly nicknamed the building "the Corral." Other new construction in 1865 consisted of two laundresses' quarters, each 30 feet by 60 feet, and a shed for 50 mules.[21]



Section.

Above: Section through the powder magazine, as constructed in 1863. *National Archives, Cartographic Branch.*

Below: View of the powder magazine. Although the roof has changed, the building still stores powder for the salute guns. *Erwin Thompson, 1991.*

Post hospital constructed during the Civil War (1864) as a general hospital. The one-story, flat-roofed ell in front was a morgue. The curved walk led to the railroad station. At the bottom of the photo, behind "Presidio", is the end of the main railroad track and siding of the Presidio Railroad 1881-1892. In 1882 its management changed the name to Presidio and Ferries Railroad in a corporate reorganization. *National Archives photograph.*

By 1863 the Department of the Pacific decided that general hospitals were needed in the Bay Area because of the increased number of posts and their garrisons. It selected the Presidio of San Francisco and Benicia Barracks to be the locations for two such establishments. At the Presidio the old post hospital located on the west side of the parade and dating from the 1850s was converted to much-needed officers' quarters and a new building [2] christened the Wright General Hospital and located at the north end of officers' row slightly apart from the residences, came into being in 1864. The department quartermaster later reported that of the 12 bidders for the contact, H. E. Peny's proposal of November 20, 1863, had been accepted. His bid of $2,798 was not the lowest, but the most acceptable.

The wood-frame two-story building, with a brick-walled basement, faced west towards the parade ground. Verandas on both floors lined both the east and west elevations. An ell on the east side contained a brick morgue at the basement level and a prisoners' ward stood above it. The new hospital contained 10 rooms, a kitchen, and a dining room, and had a bed capacity of 50. Its existence as an army general hospital, however, was of short duration. In September 1864 the Department issued Special Orders 211:

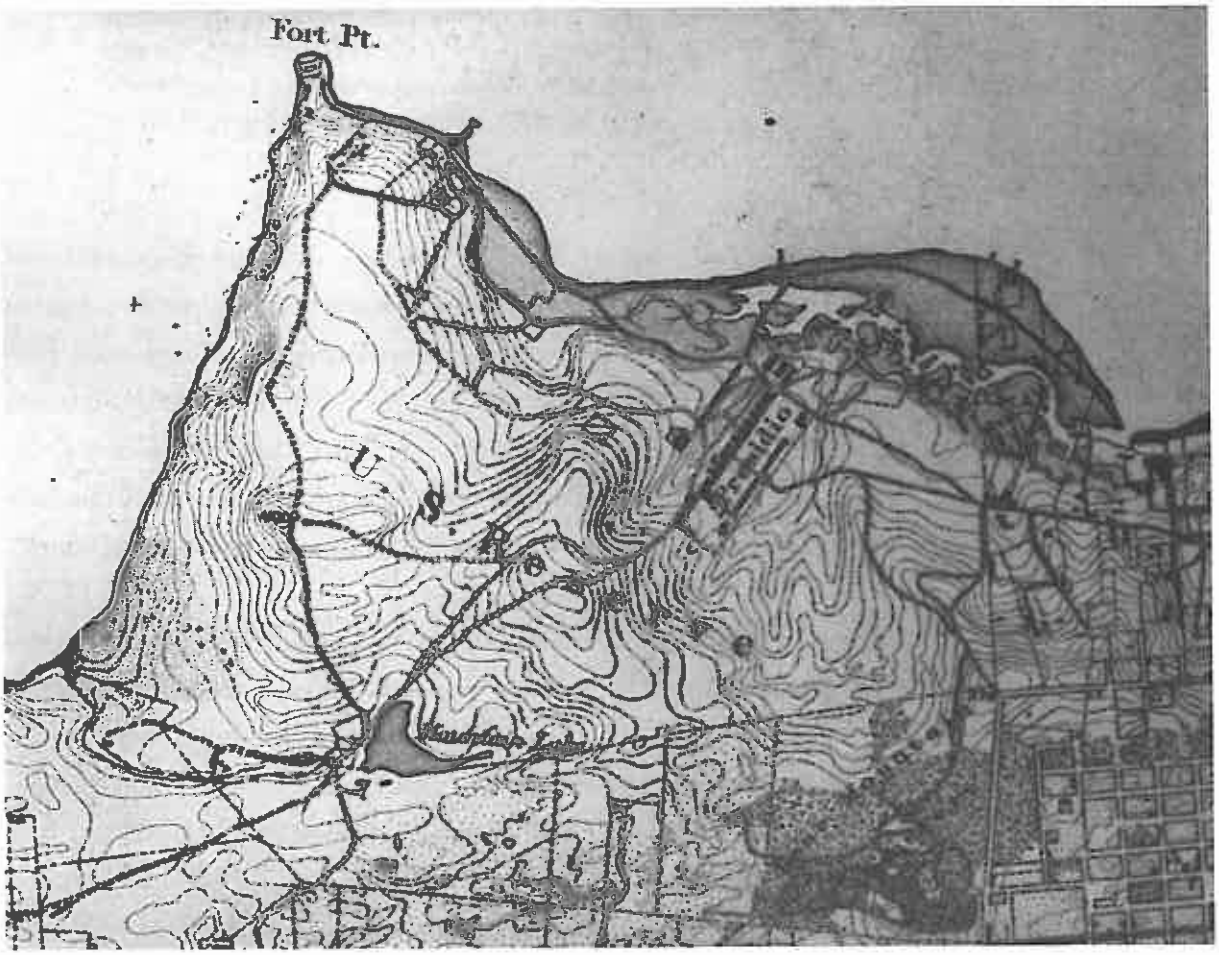
> The hospitals at the Presidio of San Francisco and Benicia Barracks, heretofore known as Wright and Barnes General Hospitals, respectively, are, upon the recommendation of the medical inspector, attached to and will form part of these posts as post hospitals, under the same control of the commanding officers as other hospitals at military posts.[22]

The 1865 inspection report omitted a new structure at the Presidio — the post chapel [45] constructed about 1864. Located at the south end of the parade ground between the new bachelor officers' quarters and the adobe officers' quarters, the chapel appears to have been constructed without the benefit of governmental funds. At that time most army officers favored the Episcopalian faith. Historian Edward M. Coffman has written, "within the army, the Protestant Episcopal church was the most influential sect." He added, "the tradition, the order and formality of the Episcopal service made this church more congenial to the military."

The new post chaplain, the Reverend Daniel Kendig, Episcopalian, had arrived at the Presidio in July 1863 from Fort Steilacoom, Washington Territory, where he had served the needs of the 9th Infantry. It is probable that Kendig, supported by the officers and influential members of the Episcopal Diocese, succeeded in raising funds for the construction of the chapel. As originally constructed, the small one-story wood-frame building measured 24 feet by 45 1/2 feet. A small steeple surmounted the gable roof.[23]

Only a few records of the day-to-day activities at the Presidio of San Francisco during the Civil War have survived. Were it not for the Post Returns, little would be known concerning that period. One item of interest showed that in January 1862 the post commander received a directive ordering him to prepare a plan for leasing out Presidio grounds for grazing purposes during the coming year. The letter reminded him that the existing lease was about to expire.[24] Little notice concerning the civilian post trader, or sutler, for the Presidio's earliest history has yet to be recovered. In 1865, however, the sutler, one J. D. Stephenson, swore to "support protect and defend the Constitution and Government."[25]

The post returns for the Civil War provide additional information concerning the garrison. Lt. Col. Caleb C. Sibley, 9th Infantry, commanded the post from January 1862 to September 1864, with only one four-month interruption. Maj. Thomas F. Wright, 2d California Infantry and the son of General Wright, succeeded Sibley, commanding until the cessation of hostilities. He joined the Regular Army at the close of the war, only to be killed fighting Modoc Indians in April 1873.



Presidio of San Francisco military reservation, circa 1865-1870. Note the approaching city. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

As the 9th Infantry Regiment departed in 1863, California volunteer units arrived — 2d California Infantry, a U.S. Volunteer Company, Native California Cavalry Battalion (First Lt. Crisanto Solo, commanding), and the 7th California Infantry. The strength of the garrison varied from month to month but its approximate size during the war years consisted of:

1861: 5 officers and 100 men
1862: 13 officers and 280 men
1863: 8 officers and 250 men
January–September 1864: 8 officers and 175 men
October–December 1864: 25 officers and 835 men
January–April 1865: 50 officers and 1,360 men.[26]

As the war progressed General Wright found it increasingly difficult to keep the 9th Infantry up to full strength. Potential recruits on the west coast found the volunteer units much more

attractive than signing up for lengthy enlistments in the regulars. Wright wrote the War Department in 1863 complaining of this problem and suggesting that recruiting stations for the regulars be closed. At that time, one company of the 9th occupied Fort Vancouver, one garrisoned San Juan Island, two occupied Alcatraz Island, and the remainder served at the Presidio "as a reserve to meet any sudden call." These men, he said, were all old soldiers. Because they were as well-trained in artillery tactics as they were in infantry, he recommended their conversion to light (mounted) artillery. Washington said no. The 9th remained infantry.[27]

San Francisco and the War

From the beginning of hostilities, the majority of San Franciscans supported the Union cause. Following an 1862 election Governor Stanford wrote President Lincoln, "Our general election was held yesterday. The result is a triumphant and overwhelming victory in favor of the Union and the National Administration."[28] Throughout these years each post celebrated all national holidays with a federal salute (one gun for each Union state) at sunrise and a national salute (21 guns) at noon. Alcatraz Island announced each Union victory with a 100-gun salute. The year 1864 witnessed Brig. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's victories in the Shenandoah Valley in September and again in December when Alcatraz's 100 guns boomed in celebration of Maj. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman's "march to the sea" in Georgia and South Carolina. All Bay Area posts' artillery fired a salute on June 17, 1863, in honor of an earlier war — the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.[29]

When he assumed command in 1861, Wright established his headquarters in offices at 742 Washington Street. He and Mrs. Wright took rooms at the Metropolitan Hotel. The Subsistence Department (food) maintained offices and a warehouse at 208 and 210 Sansome. The Quartermaster Department (supplies, uniforms, etc.) occupied a corner at California and Montgomery streets. The Corps of Engineers, not part of the department, maintained its offices at 37 Montgomery Street.[30]

Wright did not enjoy the San Francisco climate. His asthmatic condition became intolerable in November 1862 and he asked the War Department's permission to move at least part of his headquarters to Sacramento. It is not believed that the move was authorized, but from time-to-time, Wright's correspondence bore a Sacramento address. In 1864, however, General Wright received an opportunity to reside in Sacramento when the Army transferred him from

Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell, U.S. Army, during the 1860s. General McDowell commanded the Department of the Pacific from July 1864 to July 1865; and for a time after July 1865, the Department of California. In 1876 he returned to California to command the Military Division of the Pacific. He retired at San Francisco in 1882. In retirement he served as a park commissioner for the City and County of San Francisco. General McDowell died in 1885 and was buried in the San Francisco National Cemetery. *Presidio Museum Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

the Department of the Pacific (Districts of California, Oregon, Humboldt, Utah, and Southern California) to commander of the District of California (harbor defenses of San Francisco Bay, provost guard in San Francisco, and the several posts in Northern California). Replacing him as department commander came Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell.[31]

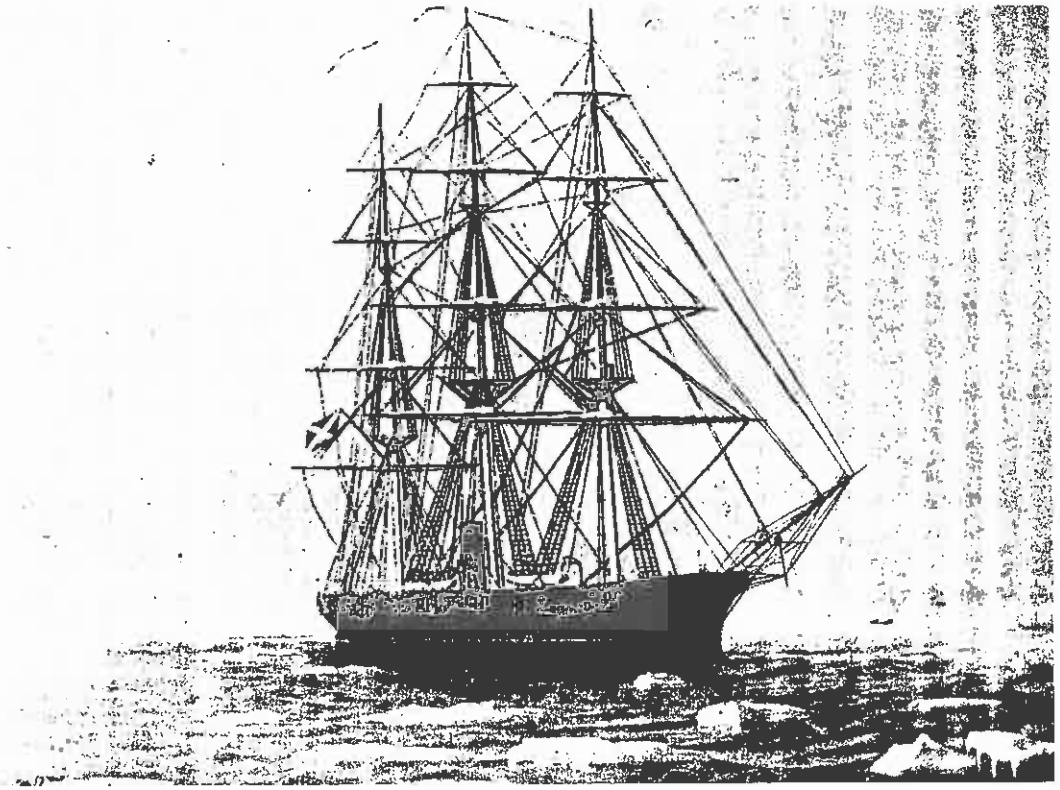
Raised in France and graduated from West Point, McDowell became an artillery officer in 1838. Experienced in the Mexican War, he rose to brigadier general in 1862. Confederate forces forced McDowell's untrained troops into a rout in the first Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) (July 21, 1861). Alas, he also received part of the blame for the second Bull Run disaster (August 1862). That marked the end of his combat experience in the Civil War. But McDowell possessed considerable administrative abilities and the future would bring those skills to bear on the Presidio in no uncertain terms. Shortly after McDowell's arrival, the secretary of war wrote that he seemed to be getting along well with the local officials: "McDowell has been in command for a very short period. He is believed to be an officer of good administrative fac-

A variety of units and their officers composed the guard during the war years. When Maj. Thomas Wright transferred from northern California to San Francisco in 1864, he first served as assistant provost marshal before taking command of the Presidio. Fighting in the east ended in May 1865, but the provost marshal kept his office open until July.[37]

The Confederate ship *Alabama* created a scare in San Francisco early in 1863. The British had built this crack commerce raider and secretly transferred it to the Confederacy in September 1862. Under her brilliant captain, Raphael Semmes, she had significant successes in the Atlantic before sailing around Africa, as far as Singapore. A concerned General Wright wrote Washington in January 1863 that *Alabama* was wreaking havoc somewhere on the high seas and "apprehensions [are] entertained that enemy steamers may threaten harbor of San Francisco. Troops in forts on the alert. War steamers necessary to co-operate with forts in harbor. No government vessels at San Francisco." Wright also wrote the commander of the Mare Island Navy Yard asking for assistance. But the Navy could not help nor could the Collector of Customs. Neither had vessels. *Alabama*, however, did not approach San Francisco, and the crisis passed.[38]

Following the *Alabama* scare came the *J. M. Chapman* incident. General Wright explained it to Washington in March 1863. For weeks he had been suspicious that rebel cruisers were being outfitted to prey on Pacific commerce, particularly on gold-carrying steamers. One particular schooner, *J. M. Chapman*, attracted attention. Finally she cleared customs allegedly heading for Manzanillo, Mexico, with a cargo of machinery and merchandise, with an ordinary crew and no passengers. The port collector, Ira Rankin, thought otherwise and requested USS *Cyane* to seize the vessel before she left the bay. The boarding party discovered 15 passengers, a cannon, and ammunition. All the men were confined to Alcatraz Island. "The persons arrested will be considered military prisoners. No one, other than [army officers] is permitted to see them." One of the passengers turned state's witness and declared that the ringleader had shown him a letter of marque signed by President Jefferson Davis, Confederate States of America. The whole affair created a great alarm in the public; but calm returned eventually. As farfetched as it seemed, this incident was about the closest thing to Civil War activity that came to San Francisco.[39]

The Confederate commerce raider *Shenandoah* captained by Lt. James I. Waddell, formerly of the U.S. Navy, created the only real cause for alarm in the Pacific when it destroyed the New England whaling fleet in the north Pacific in 1865. A Confederate agent purchased the vessel



Confederate States Steamer *Shenandoah*. *U.S. Congress*, The War of the Rebellion, A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies, *Series 1, vol. 3, serial 3440.*

(then named *Sea King*) in England in 1864. Lieutenant Waddell took command of the renamed CSS *Shenandoah* off Madeira where it had been clandestinely outfitted and armed that fall. His mission was to damage and disperse the great American whaling fleet, "a source of abundant wealth to our enemies and a nursery for their seaman." Setting sail, *Shenandoah* quickly captured and sank her first enemy, American bark *Alina*, on October 30, 1864. By the summer of 1865 she had reached the Sea of Okhotsk off Siberia and between June 21 and 28 destroyed or ransomed 21 whalers, virtually wiping out the whaling fleet. Waddell next planned to attack San Francisco but learned from a passing British ship that the Confederate government had collapsed in April. *Shenandoah* made a run for England and docked at Liverpool November 6, 1865. Waddell remained in England until the United States granted amnesty.

Waddell proudly described his adventure:

> The *Shendandoah* was actually cruising but eight months after the enemy's property, during which time she made thirty-eight captures, an average of a fraction over four per month.

> She released six on bond and destroyed thirty-two.
>
> She visited every ocean except the Antarctic Ocean.
>
> She was the only [Confederate] vessel which carried the flag around the world....
>
> The last gun in the defense of the South was fired from her deck on the 22d of June, Arctic Ocean....
>
> I claim for her officers and men a triumph over their enemies and over every obstacle, and for myself I claim having done my duty.[40]

Confederate ambitions to seize portions of northern Mexico and gold steamers came to naught. Union forces in the Bay Area would gladly have taken the credit for thwarting rebel schemes. But *Shenandoah* must have given San Franciscans a scare.

During the war years several international visitors came to San Francisco. In September 1863 Rear Adm. John Kingcome, commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's considerable Naval Forces in the Pacific, on board his flagship *Sutlej*; paid a visit. *Sutlej* failed to observe wartime regulations concerning identification and the commanding officer of Alcatraz (and probably the commander of Fort Point) fired a round across her bow. An angry admiral demanded an explanation, but failed to receive adequate satisfaction.[41]

The Russians received a different reception. Shortly after the *Sutlej* incident a Russian squadron of six ships under Rear Adm. A. A. Popov arrived at San Francisco. Alexander II of Russia held a sincere friendship for the United States, and the dispatch of his navy was meant to show his respect for President Lincoln. But the real reason was for the czar to have his fleet at sea in case diplomatic disputes with France and Britain caused by their sympathy for the Poles exploded into a European war. The Russian government had severely repressed the Polish people during the preceding winter of 1862–1863. San Franciscans warmly welcomed the visitors and when the foreign sailors helped to extinguish a fire in the city, their welcome intensified. A ball climaxed the visit:

> The Citizens of San Francisco desiring to give expression to the feelings of amity and respect which they entertain towards Russia as a Nation, respectfully tender to Admiral A. A. Popoff [Popov] and Officers of H.I.M. Squadron

> a complimentary ball to be given at Union Hall on Tuesday Evening November 17, 1863. You are cordially invited to attend.

Brig. Gen. George Wright of the U.S. Army served on the Committee of Arrangements.[42]

The French occupation of Mexico caused a flurry of activity at San Francisco in the fall of 1864. The United States had enacted a prohibition against the export of arms during the war. That did not stop San Francisco merchant Nicholas Larco from assisting a Mexican agent to collect munitions and transports to aid the republican government forces in Mexico. The climax occurred in the fall when Charles James, Collector of the Port of San Francisco, seized the vessels *San Diego* and *Haze* and their cargo. With the support of Washington, he did not return them until the close of the Civil War.[43]

A last alert during Wright's regime occurred early in 1864. On February 26, the commanders of the Presidio and the other posts received a message that read, "The department commander desires you to exercise the greatest watchfulness to guard against a surprise of the post under your command. No body of men will be permitted to land on any island occupied for military defense, or come within any military reservation." All officers were to be with their commands between tattoo† and reveille†. Not until three weeks later did the probable cause of these orders appear. Wright informed California's governor, F. F. Low, that a French fleet had blockaded Mexican ports on the Pacific and that France was sympathetic to the Confederacy. He said that a French occupation of Sonora would imperil California, which the French coveted. At this same time San Francisco newspapers alarmed citizens by saying Confederate ships would attack the city. As so often before, calm overcame any nervousness.[44]

In 1864 the War Department, alarmed by the breach in security, seized a series of photographs that showed the fortifications on Alcatraz Island. Six months later, the quartermaster general, Brig. Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, issued a circular directing the taking of photographs of "hospitals, barracks, quarters or other building intended for or occupied by troops." In March 1865, when Col. Allen L. Anderson, 8th California Volunteer Infantry, commanded Fort Point, San Francisco photographers Bradley and Rulofson (the same who had photographed Alcatraz) took six views of the interior of the fort. Capt. James Ulio, 6th California Volunteer Infantry and commander of the San Francisco Provost Guard, seized the photographs on March 28. Unlike the Alcatraz incident, the Army returned the plates to the photographers two days later.[45]

A time of tension during General McDowell's first term as commander occurred during the federal elections in 1864. On November 7 the department issued orders for "the troops at Fort Point, Presidio, Point San Jose, Alcatraz, and Angel Island, and on duty in San Francisco, will be held in readiness for service at a minute's warning from early tomorrow morning till the morning of the 9th instant. No officer or soldier will be suffered to be absent from his company or post." The officers and men from the Presidio and Fort Point assembled at the Fort Point engineer wharf at 7:30 A.M. on the 8th, ready to be transported to the city. The orders added that all soldiers eligible to vote would be allowed to do so. Following the election a relieved General Wright at Sacramento recorded, "the election yesterday passed off very quietly. No disturbance of any kind. The overwhelming majority for the Union ticket."[46]

The assassination of President Abraham Lincoln five months later plunged the city and the troops into deepest gloom. Col. Thomas Wright at the Presidio received orders to hold his troops in readiness to come into the city without delay if so ordered. He suspended all passes "until the existing excitement has subsided." That same day Mayor H. P. Coon asked McDowell to send in at least 500 troops. Companies from both the Presidio and Alcatraz proceeded to the provost guard establishment on Harrison Street where they came under the direction of the chief of police, M. L. Burke. The provost guard reached its maximum size on this occasion (Companies F and G, 9th Infantry; Company A, 6th California Infantry; and Companies B and H, 2d California Infantry — total eight officers and 206 men).[47]

Excitement in the city rose to great heights when news of the assassination spread. Angry mobs attacked Democratic and foreign newspaper offices. General McDowell allegedly approached an angry crowd besieging a French paper on Sacramento Street. He addressed the mob, "My Friends, while your course today was very wrong, it was very natural, and...you have...perhaps saved me some trouble. Now I want you to save me further trouble by dispersing and going quietly to your homes." They did.

A private in the California Volunteer Infantry described the mood of the city:

> The Excitement is intents here. The [flags] are hanging from windows and doors and waving over house tops....The[y] had to call the soldiers into the City to Suppress the difficulty, but I believe there was no lives lost. I went with my company, and we laid there till about one or two o'clock in the morning. All things have been quite since, but we [are] not allowed to leave the garrison, for there is a chance for an outbreak in the City at any moment.[48]

The funeral parade for the dead president took place on April 19. Troops assembled at Washington Square at 10 A.M. Col. Thomas Wright commanded the parade; while the half-hour guns on Alcatraz Island boomed across the bay. All the other posts, including the Presidio and Fort Point, fired 21-minute guns.[49]

Four years of civil war had resulted in the Presidio expanding physically into a major western post. In the beginning, General Wright concentrated his 9th Infantry Regiment at the post ready to be dispatched to wherever trouble arose. By the close of the strife, the Presidio's garrison consisted largely of California volunteers including the 2d and 7th California Volunteer Infantry, while the 9th Infantry was scattered over northern California and the Pacific Northwest, sometimes serving as artillery troops for which role it had trained. The newly organized 7th California served at the Presidio in the Fort Point area from November 1864 to May 1865. Not having its own commissary officer, the 7th drew its rations from the 2d California Volunteers. Before long several California newspapers published letters from the 7th's enlisted men complaining that the daily ration "was not enough for one meal." One paper, the *American Flag*, directed charges of incompetency against General MacDowell and against Mrs. MacDowell, the latter for entertaining "hostile political elements" at a ball. The military at first attempted to ignore complaints from the "Hungry Seventh." Then, on February 4, 1865, McDowell announced that he would inspect the Presidio. Shortly, the Army secured a new contractor, the food improved, and the complaints disappeared.[50]

Southern sympathizers did not cause significant problems in the Bay Area, but army troops proceeded to settle such problems that did occur. West coast soldiers did not win the fame and glory of their eastern brothers, fame that led to the leadership positions in the postwar army. They did, however, do their duty and remained prepared through uncertain times.

ulty, although unfortunate in the field, and to be rigidly honest." No sooner than taking command on July 1, 1864, McDowell announced he would inspect the post and the troops of the Presidio and the other Bay Area installations. The general made a public appearance at the July 4 celebration at Washington Square. The crowd was anxious to see the new commander fresh from the fighting in the east. The orator of the day, Henry W. Bellows, president of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, denounced slavery and called for kind treatment of the Chinese. Presidio troops did not march on this occasion but 80 members of the city's Provost Guard did attend.[32]

McDowell, accompanied by California's Governor Frederick Law, inspected the harbor defenses on steam tug *Goliath* on July 13, 1864. Two companies of soldiers and an artillery salvo greeted the visitors at Fort Point. The fort's guns fired six rounds at targets mounted at Lime Point. Regrettably, the shells exploded soon after leaving the muzzles. The cause of the premature explosions was attributed to 10-year-old fuses that had deteriorated.[33]

McDowell had only one year of this sojourn to exert his influence on the Department. In June 1865, peace returning to the nation, the Army underwent yet another reorganization, creating a new Military Division of the Pacific. Maj. Gen. Henry Wager Halleck (who also had soldiered in California) arrived to take command. McDowell climbed down the ladder a bit and took over the Department of California, pushing aside Wright who now became commander of the Department of the Columbia, from where he had come. He did not see the Pacific Northwest again; General and Mrs. Wright drowned on board SS *Brother Jonathan* when she wrecked and sank en route to the Columbia in July 1865.[34]

Southern sympathizers existed throughout California during the Civil War. Although they (or their voices) never amounted to a significant number in the Bay Area, General Wright followed War Department orders and arrested those giving "aid and comfort to the enemy" or for "any other disloyal practice."[35] To aid efforts in keeping the peace, Wright established a provost guard in San Francisco in February 1862. Quarters and stables for 25 men of the 2d California Cavalry were erected on Harrison Street. This guard kept tabs on the military as well as on troublemakers. Newspapers announced that "all soldiers visiting the city, either passing through or under special orders, will immediately report at the office of the Provost Marshal."[36]

SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

MAJOR-GENERAL McDOWELL

Commander in Chief of the U.S. Military Forces on the Pacific Coast,

AT PLATT'S HALL, SAN FRANCISCO,

ON THE

EVENING OF FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21ST, 1864,

AT ONE OF THE

Most Crowded and Enthusiastic Meetings ever held in this City.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN CONNESS,

DELIVERED AT

PLATT'S HALL, SAN FRANCISCO,

ON

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 18, 1864.

1864 broadside. *Courtesy of Robert J. Chandler, Wells Fargo Bank.*

Eadward Muybridge Photographs
A Folio

Eadweard Muybridge, 1830–1904, English-American photographer and motion picture pioneer.

Christened Edward James Muggeridge, the Englishman became a photographer for the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. In 1877 he settled an old argument by demonstrating with photographs that when a horse runs, there is a moment when all the animal's feet are off the ground. He published *Animal Locomotion* in 1887 — 11 volumes including 100,000 photographic plates.

Muybridge photographed the Presidio of San Francisco about 1867 or 1868, and Fort Point at the same time. The U.S. Army at the Presidio borrowed the Presidio photographs from the collections of the San Francisco College for Women, made copy negatives, and returned the original prints to the college. Some years later, the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley acquired the original Muybridge prints.

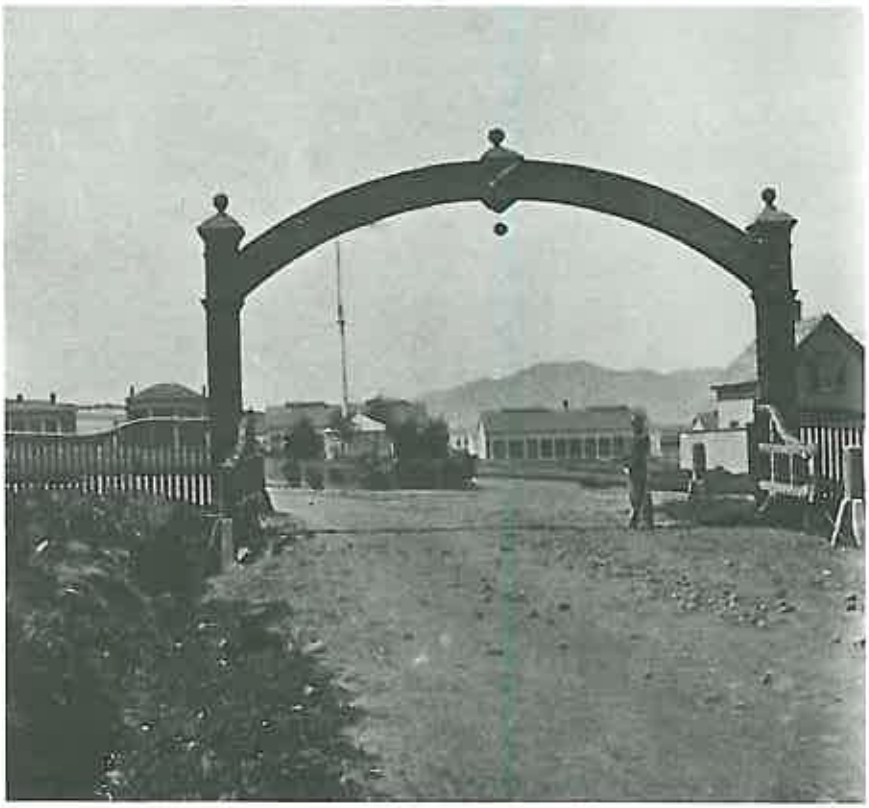
Although the correspondence has not yet been found to prove it, Historian John Martini believes that the U.S. Army contracted with Muybridge to take all of these views. The presence of the Fort Point views in army records in the National Archives provides circumstantial evidence in that direction, and it is quite possible that Muybridge prints of the Presidio once were government property that passed into private hands. At the very least, Muybridge would have needed army permission to make those photographs on army posts, and the army would have extracted a set of prints in exchange for that permission. What happened to the Army's prints is not known, but many Presidio records are missing from the National Archives, apparently never having been sent there.[51]

All photographs in this folio are from the collection of the Fort Point National Historic Site.

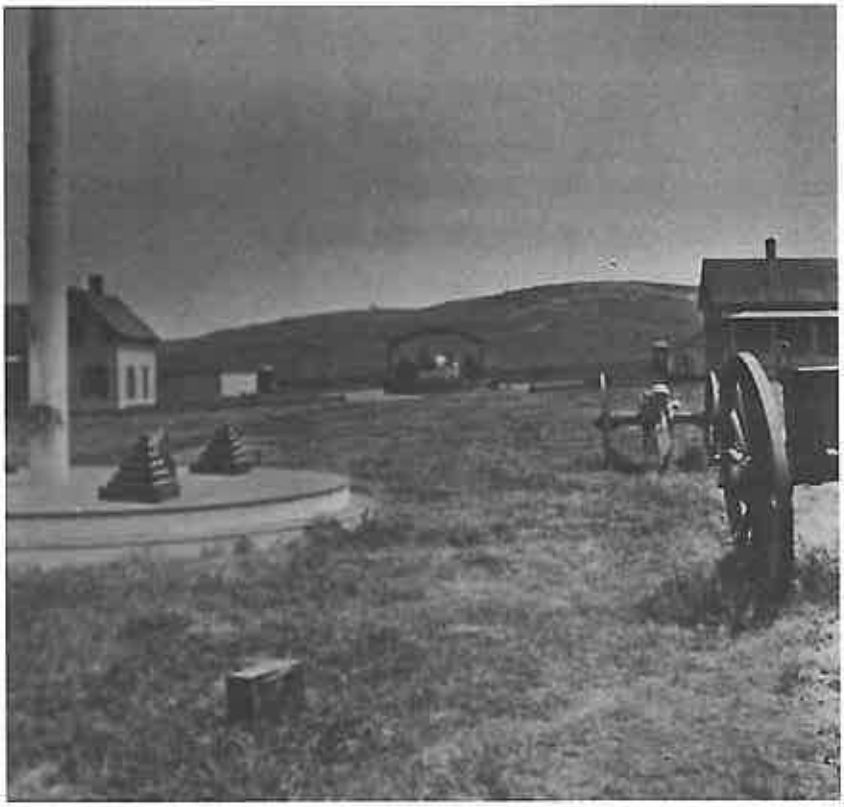
Above: A rare view showing nearly all of officers' row, with "the Corral" at the far end when it still faced west. To the right is the row of barracks, with the two-story guardhouse in the distance. At the south end of the parade are the post chapel, 45, and the front part of today's officers' club, 50. On the far slope are two two-story barracks built in 1865. Note the 24-pounder siege gun on field carriage in foreground.

Below: Battery drill of either Company A or Company M, 2d Artillery Regiment (a "light artillery battery," later called field artillery). The gunners are practicing with three-inch iron Parrott guns. The building at left is believed to be barracks 87 before a second story was added. View toward the west.

Post chapel erected during the Civil War, apparently with assistance from the San Francisco Episcopal Diocese. Later it became the Catholic "Chapel of Our Lady." Note the 1865 barracks to the right.

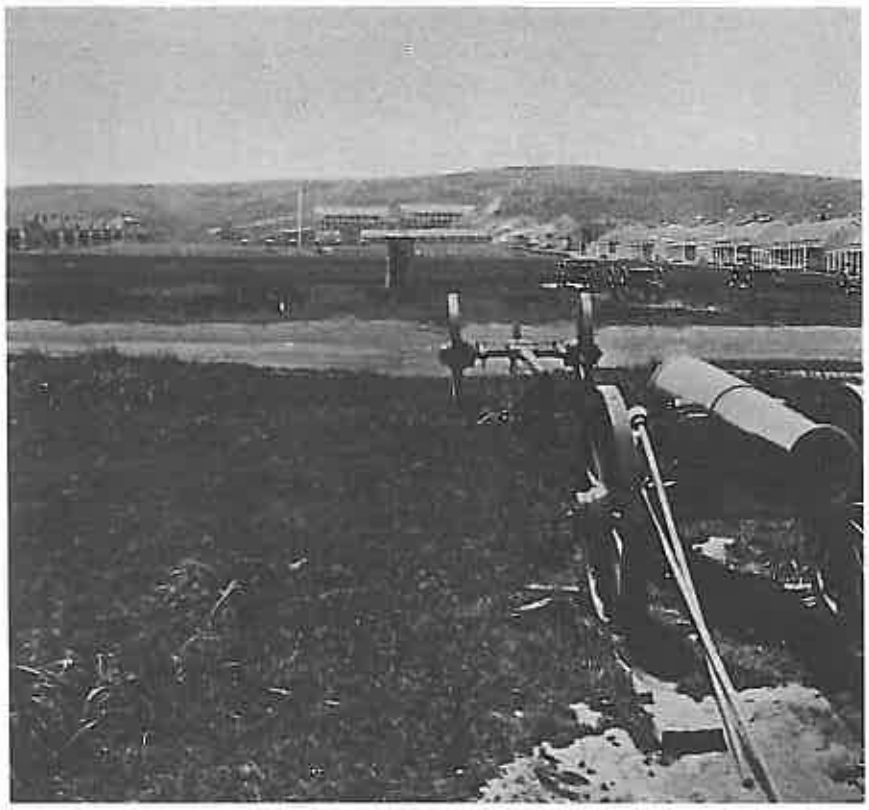


Entrance gate to the main post, "The Alameda." Looking west from just east of the intersection of Funston Avenue and Presidio Boulevard. Note the fenced circle on the site of the later cannonball-curbed circle, today's concrete curbed circle. White bandstand and flagstaff are beyond. Today's quarters, 10, is on the far right with its rear facing the camera (today, its front). Barracks and administrative buildings are in the distance.



From the flagstaff on the parade ground, view eastward out The Alameda (entrance), now the intersection of Presidio Boulevard and Funston Avenue.

View northeast across the parade ground showing the 1865 barracks stepped up the hill south of the officers' club, 50. The low-lying rectangle to the left was a mule corral. Beyond it is a row of white laundresses' quarters. The ravine between the laundresses' quarters and the barracks was later filled in to become the new parade ground and the brick barracks on Montgomery Street replaced the laundresses' quarters.



View southwest across the old parade ground. Far left, officers' quarters 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 face the parade ground. Chapel, 45, is to the left of the flagstaff. Today's officers' club, 50, is behind the sentry box with the 1865 barracks beyond on the hill. A 24-pounder siege gun is in the foreground, the artillery park at right, and barracks on the west side of the parade.

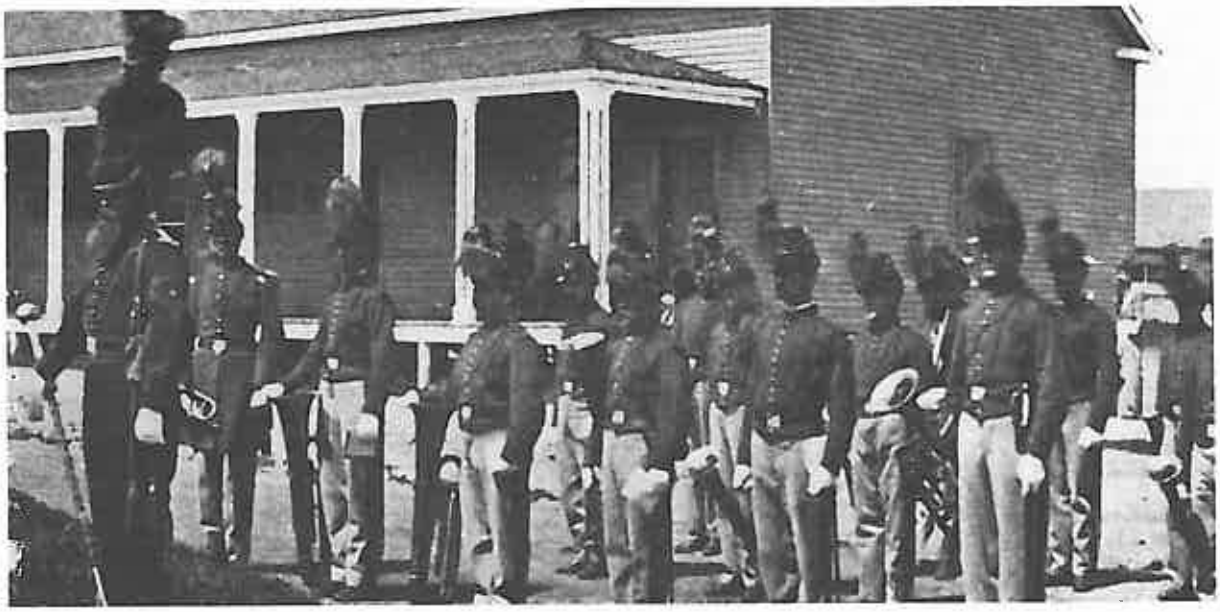
The same general view but with fog. Nearly all of officers' row may be discerned.

2d Artillery Regiment, light artillery gun drill. 10-pounder Parrott rifle ready to unlimber.

2d Artillery Regiment, light artillery gun drill. Ramming a shell home. North end of the old parade ground.

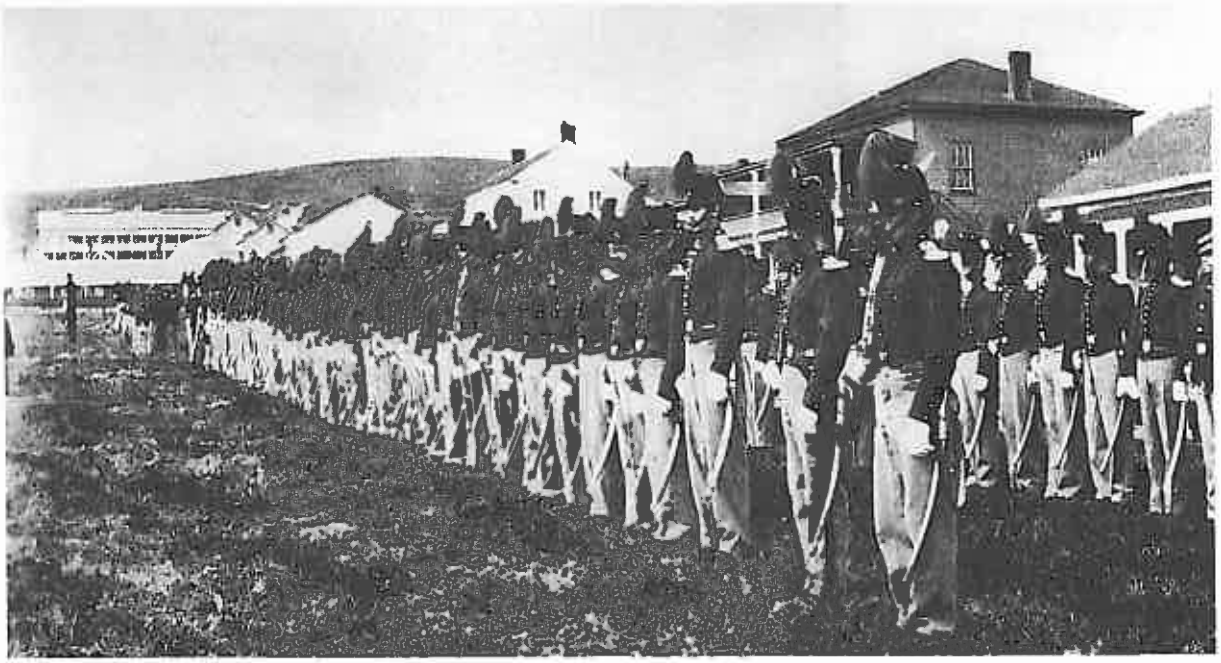
2d Artillery Regiment, light artillery gun drill with 10-pounder Parrott rifles at the north end of the old parade ground. Guns pointed northeast.

2d Artillery Regiment, light artillery gun drill at the north end of the old parade ground. View toward north.



Above: 2d U.S. Artillery regimental band. Except for the drum major and the "principal musician," the bandsmen wear the dress uniform of a light artillery battery including black shakos with red plume and cords.

Below: Soldiers of light batteries of the 2d Artillery parade dismounted in front of their barracks in full dress of black shakos and dark blue jackets, both trimmed with red. Trousers are a light blue-gray. In the distance at left is the old Spanish adobe building that would become the officers' club, 50, with a barracks on the hill behind it. View toward the south.



24-pounder siege artillery on the Presidio parade ground. View toward San Francisco.

Chapter 4 Notes:

1. Robert J. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," *Salvo, Journal of the Fort Point and Army Museum Association*, 6 (Spring 1990): 6–13.

2. *Ibid.*, McPherson, May 11, 1861, to OCE, Letters Received 1838–1866, OCE, RG 77, NA. McPherson was killed in the Battle of Atlanta, July 1864. The name of Union Square, the heart of downtown San Francisco today, honored the city's commitment to the Union during the Civil War.

3. Assistant Adj. Gen. W. W. McCall, February 17, 1861, to Lt. J. McAllister, Benicia, Department of the Pacific Letters Sent, 1848–1866, U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393, NA; *ORs*, Series 1, volume 50, part 2, pp. 444-445 and 448.

4. Post Returns, PSF, 1861.

5. *Alta California*, February 14, 1861.

6. Gen. W. Scott, March 22, 1861, to Brig. Gen. E. V. Sumner, in U.S. Senate, 50th Cong. 2d sess., Senate Executive Document 70. Johnston joined the Confederate Army. He was killed at the battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, in 1862.

7. McPherson, "Memoir of a Military Reconnaissance of the Coast and the Coast routes from San Francisco to Monterey Cala [*sic*]...June 1861," Letters Received 1838–1866, OCE, RG 77, NA.

8. *Daily Alta California*, February 24, May 12, July 21, 1861, October 3, 1862, and November 11, 1863.

9. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 7; Sifakis, *Who Was Who*, pp. 27–28. Sifakis contends that only Lincoln's friendship saved Baker from censure for his tactical decisions at Ball's Bluff. It has been held that Baker Beach at the Presidio received its name in honor of Colonel Baker. Historian Stephen Haller, NPS, has pointed out, however, that in 1869 the major property owner adjoining the Presidio, south of Lobos Creek, was Mrs. J. H. Baker.

10. Post Returns, PSF, 1861; Anon., "The Presidio of San Francisco, 1776–1976," p. 12; Aurora Hunt, *The Army of the Pacific, Its Operations in California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, plains region, Mexico, etc., 1860–1866* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1951), pp. 17–18 and 48–49. During the Civil War some 17,000 volunteers were mustered in California. See Richard H. Dillon, "California's Expeditionary Forces," *Salvo, Journal of the Fort Point and Army Museum Association*, 4 (Spring 1990): 18–27.

11. *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 503, 506–57, 512, and 519.

12. E. D. Townsend; Assistant adjutant general, Washington, September 16, 1861, to Sumner; Richard C. Drum, Department of the Pacific, October 14, 1861, to Merchant; Sumner, October 2, 1861, to Townsend, all in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 620–621, 645, and 659.

13. *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, part 1, pp. 730, 741, and part 2, p. 2.

14. *Daily Appeal*, Marysville, CA, November 16, 1861.

15. Post Returns, PSF, 1861. Constituted in 1855, the 9th Infantry Regiment was organized at Fort Monroe, Virginia. It has participated in campaigns in the Civil War, Indian Wars, War with Spain, China Relief Expedition, Philippine Insurrection, World War I, World War II (Europe), Korean War, and Vietnam. Its motto: "Keep up the Fire." John K. Mahon and Romana Danysh, *Infantry, Part 1: Regular Army*. Army Lineage Series (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 255–258.

16. Post Returns, PSF, 1861–1865; *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 1168–1170; pt. 2, pp. 505–507, 884–886, and 1272–1274; Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 7; Dillon, "California's Expeditionary Forces," pp. 19 and 23–25. In 1861, one hundred of the "best" men from different companies of the 9th Infantry Regiment were stationed on the east side of the Bitterroot Mountains escorting Lieutenant Mullan's Military Road Expedition. Because of deep mountain snows they did not reach the Presidio until July 1862. *ORs*, Ser. 1, vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 461–462, 649, 745, 790, 956–957, and 1136–1137.

17. Lt. H. G. Gibson, PSF, June 30, 1861, to the quartermaster general, and July 2, 1861, to the post adjutant, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

18. Post Returns, PSF, 1861.

19. *Ibid.*, January 1862.

20. Laura Soulliere Harrison, *Presidio Physical History Report, Building Inventory, Presidio of San Francisco* (1993), 3: Ammunition Magazine. Harrison noted a cannonball incorporated into the stonework on the west wall of the structure.

21. W. F. R. Schindler, Regimental Quartermaster, 2d California Volunteer Infantry, Annual Inspection Report of Public Buildings, PSF, June 30, 1865, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

22. Schindler, Annual Inspection Report, 1865; *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 996, Special Orders 211, Headquarters, Department of the Pacific, September 30, 1864. One must assume that the Presidio hospital honored the name of the department commander, Brig. Gen. George Wright. As for Barnes General Hospital, the most likely candidate was Brig. Gen. Joseph K. Barnes, then the surgeon general, U.S. Army. The term "Wright Army Hospital," still found in use, appears not to have had official sanction.

23. Coffman, *The Old Army*, p. 78; Anon., "Chapels of the Presidio", researched by Linda Jackowski and Sgt. Jerry D. Mason (n.d.); Post Returns, PSF, 1863; The Episcopal Bishop of California at that time, William Ingraham Kip, believed firmly in the separation between church and state and would not have formally and officially raised money for a chapel on government property. He may have privately encouraged the raising of funds. Records of the Diocese of California were destroyed in the 1906 earthquake. Correspondence from the Rev. John Rawlinson,

Diocesan Archivist, Episcopal Diocese of San Francisco, January 4, 1994. Chaplain Kendig remained at the Presidio until his retirement in 1888.

24. Assistant Adj. Gen. Richard Drum, Department of Pacific, January 20, 1862, to commanding officer, PSF, in Box "Department of California," Presidio Army Museum (PAM).

25. J. D. Stephenson, Sutler, "Presidio Barracks," February 3, 1865, microfilm "Presidio of San Francisco," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

26. Post Returns, PSF, 1861–1865.

27. Wright, May 1, 1863, to the adjutant general, Washington, in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 418.

28. Leland Stanford, Sacramento, September 4, 1862, to Abraham Lincoln, *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 99.

29. [Sixth U.S. Army], "History of the Presidio," p. 44; Department of the Pacific, General Orders 21, June 10, 1863; Assistant Adjutant General Drum, September 26, 1864, to commanding officer, Alcatraz; and Department of the Pacific, Special Orders 282, December 29, 1864, all three in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 479, 991, and 1108.

30. Henry G. Langley, *1862 San Francisco Directory*, p. 572.

31. Wright, November 8, 1862, to the War Department; Wright, Organization of the Department of the Pacific, 1862; and Headquarters of the Pacific, July 5, 1864, all in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 210–211, 272, and 891.

32. Secretary of War Edwin N. Stanton, August 18, 1864, to Lt. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant; Headquarters, Department of the Pacific, Circular, July 5, 1864, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 891 and 949; Sifakis, *Who Was Who*, pp. 414–415; McHenry, ed., *American Military Biographies*, p. 263; *Alta California*, July 6, 1864.

33. *Alta California*, July 14, 15, and 22, 1864.

34. E. D. Townsend, Washington, June 25, 1865, to Halleck, and June 27, 1865, to McDowell, *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 1266–1267; Hunt, *Army of the Pacific*, pp. 361–362. The Wrights were buried in the City Cemetery, Sacramento. Their son Thomas's body was also buried there.

35. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 6.

36. *Daily Appeal*, Marysville, February 11, 1862.

37. Post Returns, PSF, 1864–1865. Returns for the Provost Guard are for these two years only.

38. J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1953), pp. 588–590; Wright, telegram, January 31, 1863, to War Department, Senate Executive Document 70, 50th Congress, 2d session; Wright, January 26, 1863, to commanding officer, Navy Yard, Mare Island; and Ira P. Rankin, Custom House, San Francisco, February 12, 1863, to Wright, last two in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, p. 2, pp. 294–295 and 311.

39. Wright, March 24 and April 14, 1863, to War Department; R. C. Drum, March 16, 1863, to commanding officer, Alcatraz, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 363–364, 355, and 391–392.

40. *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Series 1, 3: 749–838. See also Brainerd Dyer, "Confederate Naval and Privateering Activities in the Pacific," *Pacific Historical Review*, 3 (1934): 432–443. In postwar years Waddell sailed for private shipping companies. On May 16, 1877, his ship, *San Francisco*, on the Pacific Mail's San Francisco-Yokohama run, struck a reef and sank with no loss of life. The sailor died in Annapolis, Maryland, on March 15, 1886. *Webster's American Military Biographies*; Douglas S. Brooks, "The Navy in the Civil War in California," *Salvo* (Spring 1990), pp. 34–35; Griffith H. Williams, "The Last Shot of the Civil War," *Alaska Magazine* (July 1988), pp. 37–38.

41. Schlicke, *Wright*, p. 284; *Daily Alta California*, October 2, 1863; John A. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz, Guardian of the Golden Gate* (Kailua: Pacific Monograph, 1990), pp. 44–46.

42. Barry M. Gough, *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810–1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1971), pp. 202–203; Invitation, McDowell Correspondence

and Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Randall, *Civil War*, p. 475; Hunt, *Army of the Pacific*, p. 310. A second Russian squadron visited New York.

43. In addition to 20,000 rounds of ammunition on the vessels, the authorities seized 529 cases of ammo in the city. The Mexican minister to Washington was furious, claiming that San Francisco authorities had allowed a French transport to leave the harbor with munitions. "Correspondence, etc., Relating to the Attempted Export of Arms from San Francisco, 1864," McDowell Correspondence and Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

44. Drum, February 26, 1864, to all commanders; Wright, March 18, 1864, to F. F. Low, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 771 and 791–792; *Daily Alta California*, March 18, 1864. France withdrew its designs on Mexico in 1866.

45. *Alta California*, March 31, 1865. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz*, pp. 47–49, describes the Alcatraz incident and the subsequent disappearance of the photographs and their discovery more than 100 years later.

46. Special Orders 242, November 7, 1864, Department of the Pacific; Wright, November 9, 1864, to Drum, both in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 1048 and 1052–1053.

47. Drum, April 17, 1865, to commanding officer, Presidio; McDowell, April 17, 1865, to Coon; Special Orders 85, April 17, 1865, Department of the Pacific, all in *ORs*, Series 1, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 1198–1199; Post Returns, PSF, 1864–1865.

48. Chandler, "San Franciscans View the Civil War," p. 11; Pvt. George Orr, 2d California Volunteer Infantry, April 17, 1865, to E. W. Morse, Morse Papers, California Section, State Library, Sacramento.

49. Special Orders 86, April 18, 1865, Department of the Pacific, *ORs*, Series 1, vol 50, pt. 2, p. 1201.

50. Robert Joseph Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties in California during the Civil War, 1861–1865" (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Riverside, 1978), pp. 358–361.

51. *Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia*, 18: 223; Gordon Chappell, March 14, 1995, to author.

Chapter 5. RETURN TO PEACE, 1866–1878

Garrison Life

With the coming of peace, the wartime volunteers swiftly returned to civilian life. At the Presidio the arrival and departure of Regular Army units caused considerable turmoil in late 1865 and early 1866. The 9th Infantry companies arrived from various outposts, reassembled into a regiment, and departed again. Following it, the 14th Infantry Regiment and the 1st Cavalry Regiment came and went in turn. Not until April 1866 did the Presidio's postwar regular garrison settle down — two batteries of the 2d Artillery Regiment. This regiment comprised the Presidio's garrison from 1866 to 1872, as well as manning the separate garrison at Fort Point until 1868.[1]

The realization that the prewar system of defending harbors had become obsolete caused the Army to plan new ways to incorporate the lessons learned, provide new coastal barbette batteries to replace casemated forts, and to emplace heavier artillery such as 15-inch and 20-inch Rodman guns in the defenses. At San Francisco the several installations — the Presidio, Alcatraz, Lime Point, Point San Jose, and Angel Island — remained primarily artillery posts, whereas inland posts throughout the West served mainly as infantry and cavalry commands as the frontier advanced ever farther, thus increasing conflict with Indian tribes. But the artillerymen on the bay were not immune to this warfare. Time and time again they received orders to fight in the mountains and on the plains. They learned and executed infantry and cavalry tactics as well as the management of coastal defenses. Meanwhile, the Presidio's garrison carried out its duties and routines according to custom and regulation.

The 2d Artillery's principal responsibilities during these years lay in the manning and maintenance of the 76 mounted and the more than 80 unmounted heavy weapons at Fort Point, along with the ammunition and other ordnance material. In addition, the artillerymen practiced with and cared for their weapons at the main post: six 24-pounder guns, six 3-inch rifled guns (perhaps Parrott guns†), and two .45 caliber† Gatling guns. The records for these years gave only a glimpse of the daily tasks. The post commander reported in January 1872 that his men had lacquered 400 shot of various caliber as well as one 24-pounder siege gun, painted the carriage and limber of a 24-pounder, and, in addition, cleaned and oiled two 12-pounder brass howitzers twice a week. Gun drills occupied some of the soldiers' time. An order in 1870 directed that each company spend an hour each week drilling on Fort Point's heavy guns.[2]

Although the fort at Fort Point no longer had a garrison, a daily gun detachment arrived from the Presidio to drill on the guns. These soldiers were warned not to salute any vessels, the fort now being but an outpost of the Presidio. They were, however, to report all ships larger than schooners, inbound and outbound. Other instructions included allowing the light keeper and his assistant free access to the fort, and permitting "respectable" citizens to visit the interior of the fort when they were accompanied by a noncommissioned officer. Also, a daily guard manned three posts: at the sally port, the water battery, and on the parapet. A newspaper reported:

> Every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, visitors have an opportunity of witnessing ball and shell practice from the fort. The targets are located on Lime Point, opposite....
>
> At the same time, the Second U.S. Light Artillery may be seen practicing on the open grounds this side of the Presidio. The batteries are provided with magnificent horses, and as the companies gallop back and forth over the ground at full speed, go through all the various maneuvers, and discharge their brightly polished arms in rapid succession, the spectacle is one of the finest which can be imagined.[3]

The old fort also had custody of a large group of military prisoners within its confines. On a night in May 1868 these convicts succeeded in making a mass breakout. In the city some of them attacked a police officer who was, as one of them said,"the son of a bitch who arrested me once." They assaulted him until he became insensible, robbed him, and fled into the night. Eventually, the sheriff's department captured a few of the escapees but, at last count, 31 remained at large. The Presidio ordered ball-and-chain restraints for the men remaining in the guardhouse and the post quartermaster received orders to come up with new measures for guardhouse security.[4]

On one occasion the army engineers responsible for the upkeep of Fort Point asked the Presidio commander for the use of his men to perform some work involving ordnance coming from Alcatraz. The commander huffily replied that he did not have enough men to comply and, moreover, that kind of work was foreign to him. He suggested that the engineers employ an ordnance detachment from Benicia Arsenal.[5]

Elements of the 4th Artillery Regiment replaced the 2d when the latter transferred in October 1872. The 4th Artillery, in company for part of the time with a troop† of the 1st Cavalry,

remained at the Presidio until September 1881 when the 1st Artillery Regiment arrived to assume duty.[6]

The Army's organization was rigidly stratified, on duty and off. Violators of the rules and regulations could expect to be chastised severely for their transgressions. Historian Coffman has written, "The purpose of military justice was to reinforce the discipline necessary to maintain the authoritative system." Most crimes committed on post by soldiers would not be illegal in civilian life. At the Presidio, for example, the adjutant† published an order in November 1865 announcing that all persons except commissioned officers were strictly forbidden to cross on any part of the parade ground other than the sidewalks. That order apparently proving insufficient, a circular appeared prohibiting horses from being ridden or driven across the board walks.[7]

Many disciplinary problems at army posts arose from the excessive use of alcohol. While the post trader† sold wine and beer (and he was sometimes authorized to sell hard liquor), numerous bars, dives, card rooms, and brothels flourished outside the reservations. These "hog ranches" were prevalent at all army posts, even in urban areas. At San Francisco the west ends of Lombard and Greenwich streets just outside the Presidio thrived from soldier trade. On occasion, enraged soldiers sought revenge against the bars that had taken advantage of them while inebriated. But, off post or on, heavy drinking by recruits or old soldiers was a perpetual scourge. Bootleggers' activities on the reservation in 1868 resulted in orders forbidding anyone from selling ale or beer on the post except the post sutler. Liquor was probably the source of "riotous and disorderly conduct" in Company M a few months later. Headquarters demanded a full investigation of the incident in which one man was wounded. Illegal liquor transactions continued despite the orders and circulars. In 1878 the post trader complained that a city groceryman had delivered a keg of beer to the quarters of Sergeant Doyle, Battery B, 4th Artillery.[8]

Lt. Col. William French tried to find a solution concerning the alcoholic Ordnance Sgt. Charles Lange in 1872. Ordnance sergeants stood near the top of the enlisted aristocracy. Highly respected and experts in their field, they were essential to the operations of an artillery post. Lange was an old soldier who understood thoroughly the care of ordnance and the handling of heavy guns. Excessive drinking, however, disqualified him from performing his duties. French recommended that the sergeant not be discharged because "his family is large and entirely dependent," but transferred to a post where he could be closely supervised.[9]

On May 14, 1869, four privates from Company G, of the 2d Artillery, visited Casper Dix's grocery at the corner of Fillmore and Filbert streets, a short distance from the Presidio. After quaffing some beer they asked Dix for a bottle of whiskey. Dix, noting they were already intoxicated, refused. One thing led to another and soon a weapon was fired, a policeman and a bystander assaulted, and the store's contents damaged.

At their trial, charges against two of the soldiers were dismissed. One soldier was found guilty of assault and battery and petty larceny. The case of the fourth man was held over upon a charge of assault to murder.[10]

Liquor, on post or off, continued to be a concern. On Christmas Day and the following evening, 1901, Presidio soldiers attacked Torpey's Saloon near the Lombard Gate. They damaged the windows and doors before a cavalry detachment from the post dispersed them. City police did not file charges. Several months later soldiers gutted and tried to burn two saloons at the corner of Lyon and Greenwich streets. Army officers forced the culprits back on to the reservation. About the same time a family just outside the Central (Presidio) Avenue gate reported being annoyed by drunken cavalrymen. Colonel Jacob B. Rawles assured the citizens that the men were leaving for overseas in a few days.[11]

At the end of 1901 an order came down prohibiting the sale of beer on military reservations, the result of prohibition activists. The Buffalo Brewing Company received an order to remove its "unsightly" canteen building at Fort Point. Yet, a year later the company had still not moved. Colonel Rawles wrote a letter concerning prohibition on the reserve and listed the names of 24 saloons within one mile of the reservation. He said that for the first seven months of 1901, when beer had been available on the post, there had been 54 cases of drunkenness, 226 absences without leave, and 221 desertions. For the first seven months of 1902, 71 cases of drunkenness had occurred, along with 286 absences without leave and 657 desertions. He believed, however, that the absence of beer canteens had not caused the dramatic increases, rather, the arrival of many thousands of raw recruits in the latter period caused the problem.[12]

Two minor incidents enlivened Colonel French's days during these years. First his eye caught an article in the local newspaper that Presidio soldiers had robbed a milkman at 4 A.M. on a Saturday morning. Soon two detectives arrived at his door asking permission for the milkman to inspect the command to identify the culprits. He willingly agreed since the command had already lined up for the Sunday dress parade†. The milkman looked the battalion† over

but failed to recognize anyone. The other issue left him utterly frustrated. Civilian treasure hunters constantly roamed the reservation looking for buried fortunes. The problem he faced was a lack of authority to use physical force to remove these people, "An officer who arrested three of them last night was told they had been arrested before and nothing could be done with them." Whether or not he found a solution remains unknown.

Soldiers came from all walks of life and from all strata of society. Among them were the industrious and the disciplined, but also the contentious and the felonious. Fifty percent of the men were foreigners, mostly Irish and Germans, who enlisted for many reasons. Some looked upon a military career as a means of assimilating the American way of life. Others considered a career in the Army to be an end in itself. In the ranks were men who found it difficult to obey the rules and regulations and who found themselves in difficulty with the Army and with the community.[13]

Relations between town and fort continuously fluctuated, becoming worse when the newspapers reported on criminal activities by enlisted men in the city. In 1869 the *Daily Alta California* had cause to recollect the "depredations and outrages" committed by the 14th Infantry Regiment during its brief stay at the Presidio in early 1866. The culprits this time came from the 21st Infantry Regiment that arrived in May in a brief stopover between assignments. When the 21st Infantry came through San Francisco again, in 1872, it was rushed off immediately to Benicia Barracks and denied the attractions of San Francisco.[14]

Tragedy came to the Presidio in 1887 when Pvt. Thomas Bateman murdered his sergeant, Samuel Soper. The dispute began when Soper assigned a horse to Bateman on July 4 that neither belonged to him nor suited him. They argued. That night in the city Bateman ran into Soper and his companions in a bar. The argument resumed and the sergeants beat upon the private. The next morning Bateman, still intoxicated, failed to make reveille. Soper awakened him and "used the most abusive language toward him, and called him vile names." Bateman shot the sergeant in the first murder that occurred at the post. The Army turned Bateman over to civil authorities.[15]

Not all insults came from officers. During a dispute of some kind Pvt. Henry Smeaton said to Pvt. James Manning, "You are an Irish pup and if I ever get a chance at you I will pull the liver out of you." For his trouble, Smeaton had to forfeit $5 of his pay and was confined at hard labor for 10 days. But the Irish had their day in court. In 1894 San Franciscan "Grand Marshal

J. J. O'Brien" wrote to the Presidio asking permission for all soldiers of Irish descent to participate in the Irish Day parade in the city.[16]

Not all enlisted men acted as models of propriety. On one occasion three men took on the owner of the "Sea-Side Gardens," a resort just outside the Presidio's eastern boundary, and destroyed a large amount of property. After telephones had been installed at the Presidio a great deal of trouble ensued when the operator became drunk on duty and his replacement knew nothing about telephones. Another private received a court martial for becoming lost on maneuvers and "wandered around the country in a helpless manner." In his case the court found him not guilty. Another private was not as lucky. Accused of negligence and defiance when ordered to tie a loose horse to a picket line, he was found guilty, fined $10, and placed in solitary confinement on bread and water for seven days.[17]

The proper uniform constantly arose as an issue. The post adjutant admonished Light Battery F of the 5th Artillery against wearing stable clothes on the garden detail. The men should have worn canvas fatigues. On another occasion two imaginative corporals appeared on post wearing the uniforms of an unspecified foreign army. Even the post surgeon was admonished for wearing a civilian vest under his unbuttoned uniform blouse.[18]

A San Francisco newspaper reported in 1891 the results of a prize fight in the city between two privates from the Presidio and Fort Mason. Col. William Graham became furious. Such exhibitions, he said, lowered the good name of the Army and the profession of arms. He promised higher headquarters to prevent further occurrences, with or without gloves. Another soldier who sullied the Army's reputation was Private Iseberg, who, a detective reported, lived with a prostitute at 120 Prospect Place in the city. When the Army tried to apprehend him, Iseberg fled.[19]

Pvt. Harry Y. Rhann, 3d Artillery, found himself in trouble in April 1899, after he allowed a woman to share the sentry box when posted as a sentinel on guard duty. A few days later word reached headquarters that soldiers had set fire to a saloon near the Presidio. The Army sent a detachment "to quell the riot," but found neither soldiers nor a proprietor, just a burning building. The city police offered no help in identifying culprits, but a few days later the Presidio turned over four recruits to civil authorities.[20]

Sober ordnance sergeants became a topic when the Army looked around for a good man to send to Sitka, Alaska. The Presidio responded by saying neither of its two ordnance sergeants should be transferred. Sergeant William Hoffman at Fort Point "was just the man for the place and I would not like to see him removed." As for Ordnance Sergeant Lange (who must have sobered up) at the main post, he had that large family and a move to Alaska would be too expensive for him; also his children would be deprived of San Francisco's public schools.[21]

Army posts in the early nineteenth century had civilian sutlers or traders who, under an umbrella of regulations, operated stores for the benefit of soldiers and families alike. They sold the extras that government issues did not supply — canned delicacies, tobacco, beer, civilian clothing, and the like. Little knowledge has been preserved concerning the Presidio's early sutlers. After the Civil War the office of sutler was replaced by that of post trader who carried on similar activities but under tighter regulation. About 1869 a new post trader arrived, Angelo Marcian Gasper Beretta, who did leave an impression on the garrison. Family tradition held that Beretta, born in Switzerland, arrived in California by way of Australia and Hawaii sometime between the gold rush and the 1860s.

The post trader's store at that time was a wood-frame structure to the west of the Civil War barracks, between them and the laundresses' row. A second structure most likely served as his residence (seven of Beretta's children were born at the Presidio). Beretta's name became permanently linked to the Presidio when, at the celebration of the centennial of the American Revolution in 1876, he planted three eucalyptus trees in honor of three daughters in front of the store. Later when the Army cleared that area for a new parade ground, it removed two of the trees. The third, the Commemoration or Centennial Tree, survives near the center of the parade.[22]

That same year the U.S. House of Representatives investigated Secretary of War William Belknap for accepting annual bribes from traders at army posts and Indian agencies. Apparently, the question arose whether Beretta was tainted by the scandal and Washington wrote asking whether the present trader's appointment should be revoked. Colonel Brooks replied that the Presidio's trader was a poor and honest man and there was no need for a replacement. In another letter later in the year, the commanding officer reaffirmed that the post trader was "acceptable to the officers of this command."[23]

General Halleck, possibly for his own benefit, directed the stocking of trout in Mountain Lake in 1868. The instructions forbade any military personnel from interfering with the operation. Another matter concerning morale arrived at the adjutant's office from Private Oppenheim, 2d Artillery, when he requested permission to use an empty building for a "dancing club." Pvt. William Wolff's morale undoubtedly sank when he received a sentence for unknown crimes at a court martial: forfeit all pay and allowances, hard labor for two years, a 12-pound ball attached to his left leg by a 6-foot chain, and a dishonorable discharge.[24]

The enlisted men's welfare always required the attention of a conscientious officer. The post commander notified the division in 1871 that San Francisco Bay was too cold for swimming (it induced rheumatism) but each barracks had a washroom as did the hospital. The post surgeon also had responsibilities for enlisted personnel. In the case of Private Phillips, however, he could find only one cause for an unsound mind, "I am satisfied that Masturbation is a prominent one." The doctor could not prevent the death of Chief Musician Charles Kurtz, director of the 2d Artillery Band, in 1870. Company M was instructed to provide a funeral escort of 16 rank and file. That same year the soldiers of Company M decorated the graves in the post cemetery on May 30.[25]

The Presidio of San Francisco, with its magnificent viewpoints and nearness to the city and army headquarters, made it a destination of choice for visitors to the Bay Area, whether civilian or military, citizen or foreigner. In 1866 the widowed Queen Emma of Hawaii arrived at San Francisco. Governor Frederick F. Low, accompanied by state and federal officers, escorted the queen on a tour of the harbor defenses aboard government vessel *Shubrick*. Generals Halleck and McDowell conducted a similar tour the following year for Japanese officials aboard *Wyanda*. Not to be outdone, the Chinese minister to the United States received a harbor tour led by General Halleck in 1868. Japanese commissioners returned in 1871, and post orders directed "A detachment of one officer and ten men will proceed to Fort Point for the purpose of firing a minute salute upon the landing there of the Japanese commissioners, or in the case of their not landing, when steamer *McPherson* is passing the fort."

In 1874 King Kalakaua of Hawaii paid a visit to the United States. Maj. Gen. John Schofield and Mayor James Otis greeted the king, who spent a week in California before proceeding to Washington. Lt. Gen. Philip Sheridan of Civil War fame visited the Bay Area in 1875, as did an unnamed but high-ranking officer of the French Army.

Another distinguished officer in 1875, Brig. Gen. George Crook, accompanied by his aides Capt. John Bourke and Capt. Azor Nickerson, arrived in San Francisco fresh from his Apache campaign in Arizona and en route to the Great Plains for what would be the Great Sioux War. They enjoyed six days of sight-seeing, parties, and banquets. On their final evening 350 guests sat down with them to a twelve-course banquet at the Lick House. They departed the scene at 3 A.M. and boarded the train for Omaha.[26]

In contrast to the Civil War when families were not allowed, 15 officer families lived on the Presidio in the 1870s. These families, or rather the officers themselves, were authorized the services of extra duty men to deliver the mail and to make the necessary market purchases. The problem in 1878 involved one soldier attempting to undertake both tasks — he had to abandon his cart at the market while he checked at the post office for mail. The obvious solution called for extra duty men, but the record does not indicate the outcome of this issue.[27]

In order to keep a record of his officers' whereabouts, Colonel French issued the following:

> Officers desiring to leave the post without being absent from any duty should notify their company commanders.
>
> When the absence includes parades or drills, application should be made to the Commanding Officer, preferably in orderly hours and through the Adjutant.
>
> Officers who desire to be absent at night will make their application in writing. One officer must always be present with each company.[28]

The custom of four laundresses per company continued in the Army in the early years following the Civil War. Not until 1878 did the Army ban this institution. Even then some lower-ranked enlisted men were married to women who may or may not have been laundresses. Tolerant commanders allowed these families to occupy the laundresses' quarters when feasible. In 1870 the Presidio directed that the quarters occupied by married men and laundresses be neatly whitewashed and their grounds properly policed. A year later Private Crofton requested quarters for his family in the old Spanish adobe that had served as officers' quarters in the early American period. These were considered most desirable but in order to accommodate the Croftons an unauthorized occupant, Mrs. Baker, would have to move to laundresses' row. At that time the post quartermaster noted that Corporal Bashford had moved into the adobe apparently on his own. In 1878 when the Presidio underwent a reduc-

tion in strength in order to accommodate incoming Division personnel, Colonel French noted that 16 enlisted families had left the post, while 11 laundresses and a hospital matron† remained.[29]

Division of the Pacific and the Corps of Engineers

Organized in June 1865, the Military Division of the Pacific, under the command of Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck, at first commanded military operations in California, Oregon, Nevada, and the territories of New Mexico, Arizona, Washington, and Idaho. New Mexico transferred to another division later in 1865 and the territory of Alaska joined in 1867. Both the departments of California and the Columbia came under the Division, Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell commanding California. Arizona became a separate department in 1870. Maj. Gen. George H. Thomas ("the Rock of Chickamauga") succeeded Halleck in June 1869. He died of apoplexy while sitting at his desk in San Francisco on March 2, 1870. Brig. Gen. E. O. C. Ord followed Thomas. Then, in 1870, Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield became commander of both the Division of the Pacific and the Department of California. After five years as commanding general, Schofield transferred in 1876 and General McDowell returned to San Francisco to take his place.[30]

Halleck maintained a fairly small staff of about 12 officers and seven clerks and messengers. The offices for both the division and the department remained at 742 Washington Street in the city until 1867 when they moved to 204 Sutter Street. From 1869 to 1871 the Department of California occupied an office at 417 Kearny Street, while the division remained on Sutter. Then, in 1871 both moved to 703 Market Street. Landlords loved the rent that the Army paid and the year 1873 found both at 107 Stockton Street. Another move, down the street in 1875, found the headquarters at 105 Stockton. Finally, in 1876 McDowell moved to the Phelan Building in downtown San Francisco where headquarters, with one notable break, remained until that building was destroyed in the 1906 earthquake.[31]

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, including its Board of Officers for Fortifications, Pacific, maintained offices at San Francisco during this period at 533 Kearny Street. Independent of General Halleck, the senior engineer reported directly to the Chief of Engineers in Washington. At times this line of authority allowed the engineers and the general to cooperate for a common goal. At other times Halleck interfered with the engineers' responsibilities, causing much anguish.

An example of cooperation occurred in 1868 when the chief of engineers asked Col. B. S. Alexander to investigate secretly the British naval and military establishments on Vancouver Island and mainland British Columbia. In his reply, Alexander detailed at length what he had observed himself as well as the opinions of Halleck who had made a more recent visit to Victoria.[32]

Then there were times that tried engineers' souls. Chief Engineer A. A. Humphreys wrote in 1868 that Halleck had inspected the Engineer Office in San Francisco and had ordered certain of its employees to be replaced, "I have to request that this interference with duties under my control may not be repeated." A few months later Humphreys challenged Halleck's opinion that the engineers' new steamer at San Francisco "is a useless expense." Not only was it a judicious and economical expense, it was far better than the extravagant cost of the steamer ($50,000 in gold) that Halleck's people had recently purchased: "I...have now to request that the Secretary of War will correct his [Halleck's] offensive interference with duties of others."[33]

The Division of the Pacific had its own engineer officer on the staff who did report directly to the commanding general. That officer from 1867 to 1871 was Maj. Henry Martyn Robert. Years later Robert recalled that while at San Francisco he was called upon to preside at a meeting but did not know how to do it. When he looked for a book of instructions, he found none. He sat down and wrote *Pocket Manual of Rules of Order*, which was published in 1876.[34]

Chief of Engineers Humphreys renewed the subject of formal names for San Francisco fortifications in 1874. This time he recommended that the works at Fort Point be named Fort Lincoln, in honor of the late president; the north side of the Golden Gate be named Fort Stanton for the late Secretary of War; and the works on Alcatraz Island, Fort McPherson. Once again, nothing happened.[35]

On one occasion, in 1869, General Halleck asked Engineer Alexander for the temporary services of one of his San Francisco officers. Alexander selected Capt. Charles W. Raymond directing him to report to the general "for the purpose of going to Fort Yukon and ascertaining the latitude and longitude of that place." The Hudson's Bay Company had established the fort on the Yukon River about 1850. After the purchase of Alaska, American authorities began to doubt Britain's claim to the post, suspecting it stood on Alaskan territory. Captain Raymond departed San Francisco in April and arrived at Fort Yukon by steamboat in July. He

carried out the survey, determined that the fort had been erected in Alaska, raised the U.S. flag, and ordered the employees of the Honorable Company to depart.[36]

Maintaining a Fort

A sharp earthquake jolted the San Francisco peninsula in October 1868. Although it caused damage to the fort at Fort Point, it seemed not to have affected the main post — at least it did not cause a flurry of correspondence.[37] In 1870 and 1871 both the Army's Surgeon General and Quartermaster General published descriptive reports on the military posts, stations, barracks, and hospitals in the nation. Post Surg. (Major) Joseph C. Baily prepared the Presidio report for the Surgeon General. He wrote that the reservation had a gravelly slope that ascended gradually from the sands and salt-water marshes along the bay. Behind (south) the post the ground rose rapidly into grass-covered hills. He estimated its size to be 1,540 acres. The post had good natural drainage that was improved by shallow ditches around the buildings. The grass-covered parade ground measured 550 yards by 150 yards. Buildings lined three sides while the fourth (the northeast end) opened onto the bay. By then officers' row [5 through 16] (on Funston Avenue) had a 12-foot-high lattice lath wind fence, 36 feet from the houses and extending along the west side of the row. Branch fences extended from it to the houses. The quartermaster had planted pines and acacias at 18-foot intervals between the fence and the quarters. He described the buildings at the main post:

Barracks:
One, 18 feet by 80 feet, one story, for one company
One, 18 feet by 95 feet, one story, for one company
Four, each 18 feet by 51 feet, one story, for one company
(Each of the above six barracks had an adjoining kitchen – mess room)
One, 25 feet by 117 feet, two story, for two companies
(With kitchen and mess room in an adjoining building, 16 feet by 117 feet)
Four, 30 feet by 120 feet, two story, each for two companies
(These had kitchens and mess rooms in their basements)
All barracks had iron bedsteads

Officers' Row:
Bachelor Officers' Quarters, 14 feet by 32 feet, two stories and basement, with a 30-foot by 40-foot wing, 39 rooms
Twelve 1 1/2 story cottages, 18 feet by 31 feet, with bathrooms attached

Laundresses:
One, 28 feet by 90 feet, one story, 12 rooms
One, 37 feet by 45 feet, two story, 12 rooms (possibly the fifth 1865 barracks)
Eight, 27 feet by 60 feet, one story, eight rooms each
One, 29 feet by 160 feet, 18 rooms
One, 55 feet by 87 feet, 14 rooms
One, 26 feet by 45 feet, three rooms
One, 23 feet by 60 feet, three rooms
One, adobe, one story, seven families

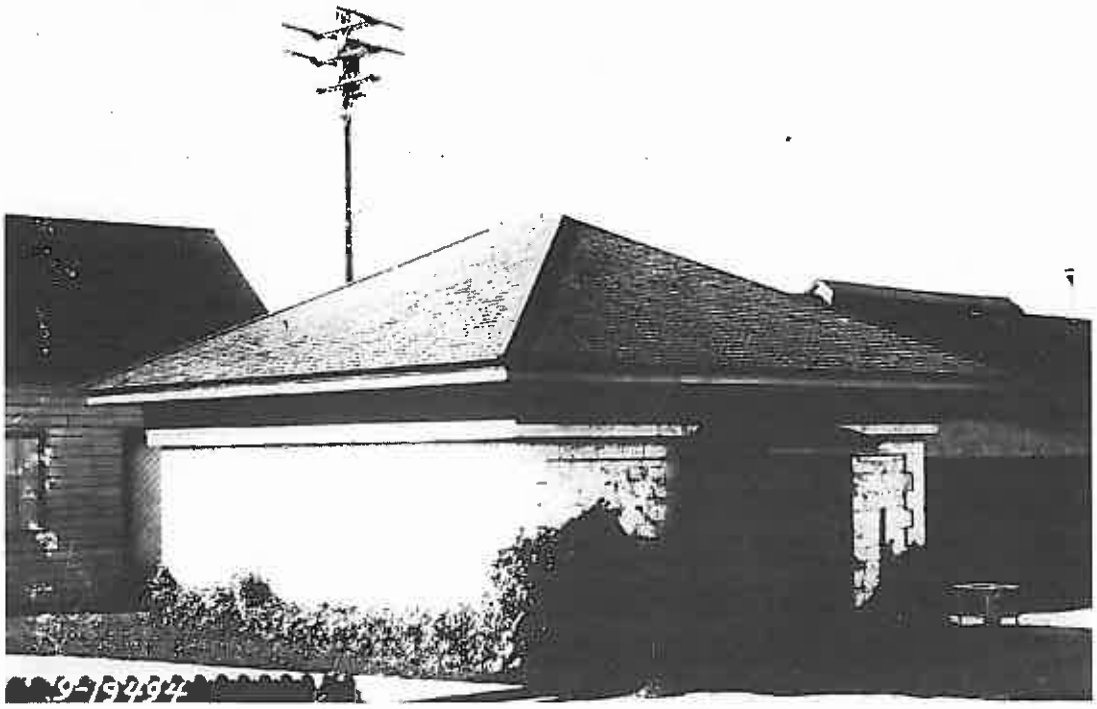
Post Buildings:
Adjutant's office, 30 feet by 36 feet, one story, four rooms
Guardhouse, 30 feet by 40 feet, two stories, upper floor-guard room, lower floor — main prison room 20 feet by 35 feet and cells, each 5 feet by 10 feet
Chapel, 30 feet by 45 feet
School house, 18 feet by 30 feet
Bake house, 18 feet by 42 feet
Hospital, 40 feet by 80 feet

Workshops:
Wheelwright, 30 feet by 80 feet
Blacksmith, 20 feet by 50 feet

Storehouses:
Magazine, 23 feet by 28 feet
Quartermaster and subsistence, 30 feet by 110 feet, brick foundation
Hay and grain, 24 feet by 66 feet
Lumber (hardwood), 18 feet by 51 feet
Gunsheds, 30 feet by 175 feet (ordnance stores in loft)

Stables:
Two for battery horses, 30 feet by 215 feet (87 stalls each) forage lofts
Mule shed, 16 feet by 430 feet

Major Baily wrote about the hospital at length (in the surgeon's report) saying it measured 40 feet by 80 feet with a wing 22 feet by 35 feet. The whole had a brick basement and a porch in front. (An 1870 plan indicated porches both front and rear.) The hospital, divided into four wards and a smaller ward for prisoners, contained 50 beds. The average occupancy at that time came to 17. The hospital attendants had their own room. These rooms contained water pipes, marble basins, wardrobes, tables, and chairs. They had coal-burning fireplaces. The hospital also contained a dispensary, library, post-mortem room, two bathrooms, kitchen, pantry, storeroom, and mess room. The hospital library held 500 volumes — travel, biogra-



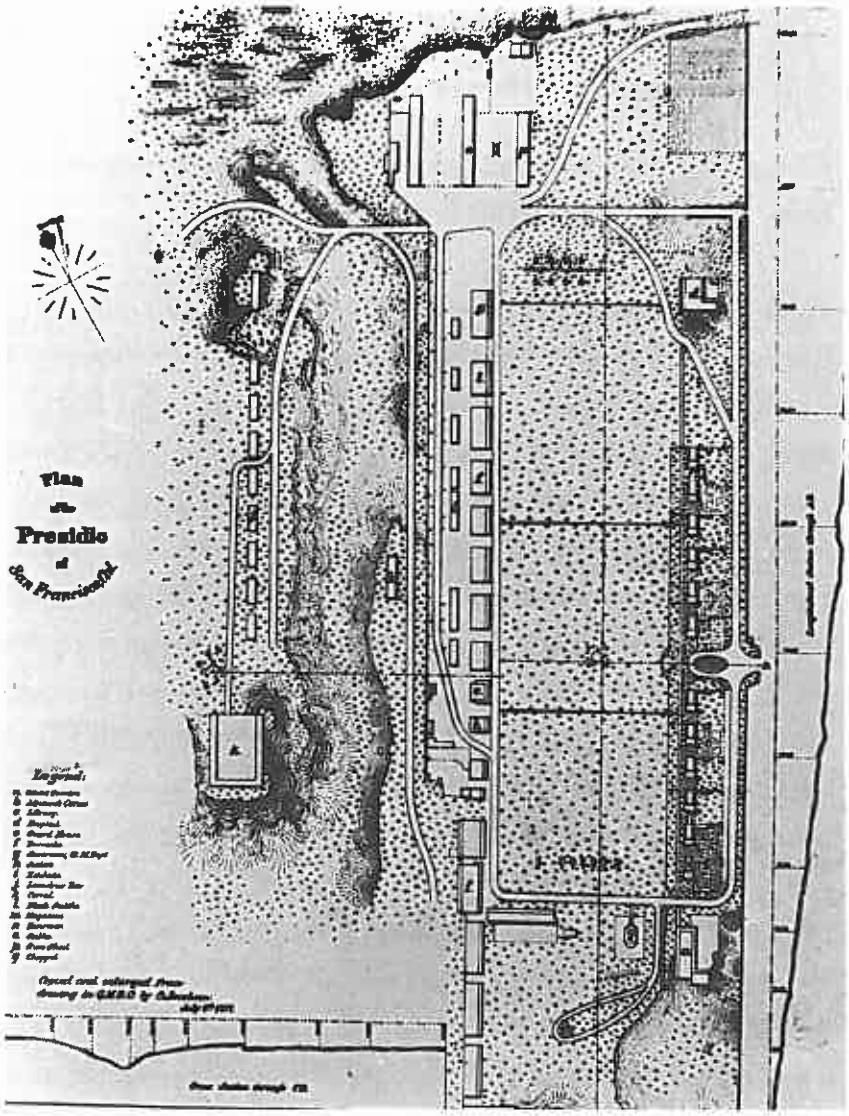
Powder magazine. When first built in 1863, it had a domed roof. Here, shingles cover the roof. About 1940, the roofing was changed to tile. *Ninth Signal Corps photograph, Presidio Museum Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

phy, history, fiction, and religion. The hospital kept one cow and maintained a small vegetable garden.

The 2d Artillery's regimental library contained 1,478 volumes and was housed in a set of officers' quarters. The post garden of 10 acres produced such basic vegetables as potatoes, cabbages, turnips, and onions. It supplied sufficient quantities so that the post rarely had to purchase produce from outside.

Good water came to the post via the flume of the Spring Valley Water Company. A windmill, located near the stables, and mule power forced the water into a reservoir at the south end of the compound. From there pipes carried the water to the various buildings. Wastewater pipes and latrines emptied into covered sewers that ran along either side of the post and drained into the bay.[38]

The Quartermaster General's 1871 publication was briefer in form. Lt. J. H. Lord, the post quartermaster, prepared the Presidio section in 1870. While rearranged somewhat, Lord



Map, main post, Presidio of San Francisco, copied at Washington, D.C., July 8, 1871, probably from a map prepared at the Presidio by either Post Surgeon Joseph C. Baily or Post Quartermaster James H. Lord in 1870. Officers' row is on the right, enlisted barracks at center, laundresses' quarters and mule corral on the left, and stables at the upper end. The lone building to the left of the road behind the barracks was the sutler's store. *U.S. Army Military History Institute.*

copied much from Baily. The main differences involved the barracks and the laundresses quarters. While Baily had listed eleven barracks, Lord showed only nine, which suggests that two had either been empty or had found other uses. Concerning the laundresses' buildings, Lord further identified which were adobe:

Laundresses:
Eight frame buildings, 27 feet by 60 feet, each with eight rooms
One, frame, 28 feet by 90 feet, with 12 rooms
One, frame, 37 feet by 45 feet, two stories, six rooms
One, adobe, 29 feet by 160 feet, 18 rooms
One, adobe, 55 feet by 87 feet, 14 rooms

One adobe, 23 feet by 60 feet, three rooms
One adobe, one story, seven families
One (frame?) 26 feet by 45 feet, three rooms

Concerning water, Lord added more detail: a water wagon supplied the post, and a pipe ran from "Tunnel Spring," 2,300 feet, to the reservoir.[39]

While these reports dealt with only buildings at the main post, considerably more manmade forms had come into being on the reservation since the arrival of the New York Volunteers nearly 25 years earlier. A small map that accompanied Baily's report showed a picket fence along the east side of officers' row that extended along the south end of the post to the southernmost barracks. This fence also ran part way along the west side of the barracks. A road from town entered the parade ground at The Alameda (Presidio Boulevard today). Another road from the city headed toward the stable area near the north end of the parade (Lincoln Boulevard). It was labeled "gate closed up" at the boundary line. An internal road surrounded the parade. It corresponded to today's Mesa Street, Moraga Avenue, Graham Street, and Lincoln. Three planked walks divided the parade into thirds and the flagstaff stood in the center of the parade directly west of The Alameda. Cannon protected it. At the north end of the post roads branched off to the west and northwest one heading for Fort Point, the other to Presidio wharf and beach. Two gardens were shown, one north of the hospital and a smaller one off to the southwest. Toward the north end of laundresses row, a small cemetery had been fenced in. Figuratively or not, the map depicted 14 graves. Between the barracks and the laundresses and east of an intermittent stream, a post trader's two buildings held forth. At the south end of the laundresses' row and a little removed from it stood the mule corral; the sheds around three sides made up the extraordinary length of 430 feet.[40]

Lieutenant Lord's report, also prepared in 1870, contained a similar small map. It showed vegetation and contours in more detail. Some of the officers' quarters had elaborate gardens in their back yards. A letter "g" identified the quartermaster storeroom as being in the northernmost barracks. The magazine, "m," was shown as a solid building west of the guardhouse. The gunshed, "p," may have been the easternmost of the three long buildings in the stable area. The cemetery showed 10 markers.

In addition to these maps, two large ones prepared in 1870 depicted the entire reservation in detail. In response to demands being made upon the military reservation by citizens, the City of San Francisco, and the State of California, the Department of California directed Lt. George

Presidio House, 1868. Painted by Joseph Lee, this depicts the resort that stood outside today's Lombard Street gate on land contested by both the U.S. Army and the City and County of San Francisco. The boundary was adjusted in the 1870s in the city's favor. Note the post hospital in the distance (extreme left) and a stable to the right. *Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.*

M. Wheeler, Corps of Engineers, to carry out the survey that resulted in the two maps, each detailed by different draftsmen. While they had a great deal in common the map prepared by C. E. Fellerer gave the more accurate depiction of the area.[41]

A trail entering the reservation near Tonquin Street extended westward along the beach and joined the road that ran from the main post to Fort Point. This lane may have been the attempt of the Bay Shore and Fort Point Road Company to build a road from San Francisco to Fort Point in 1863, which road did reach the Harbor View resort adjacent to the reservation. The principal and only finished road on the reserve ran from near Lombard Street to the main post and on to Fort Point. Numerous unimproved trails led in various directions over the reservation, including an unimproved road from the main post, over the slough, to the Presidio wharf. The Presidio's 10 acres of gardens were shown in the vicinity of Mountain Lake and along Lobos Creek.

A new, fenced, post cemetery lay on a slope about 1,800 feet west of the flagstaff (the site of the present National Cemetery). In the Fort Point area Fellerer depicted the 1865 laundresses'

huts and the barracks, water system, engineers' compound, fort, and the railroad from the engineers' wharf to the fort. The map showed nonmilitary developments, including the Presidio House, a resort in the controversial triangle of land between future Lyon Street and Broderick Street.

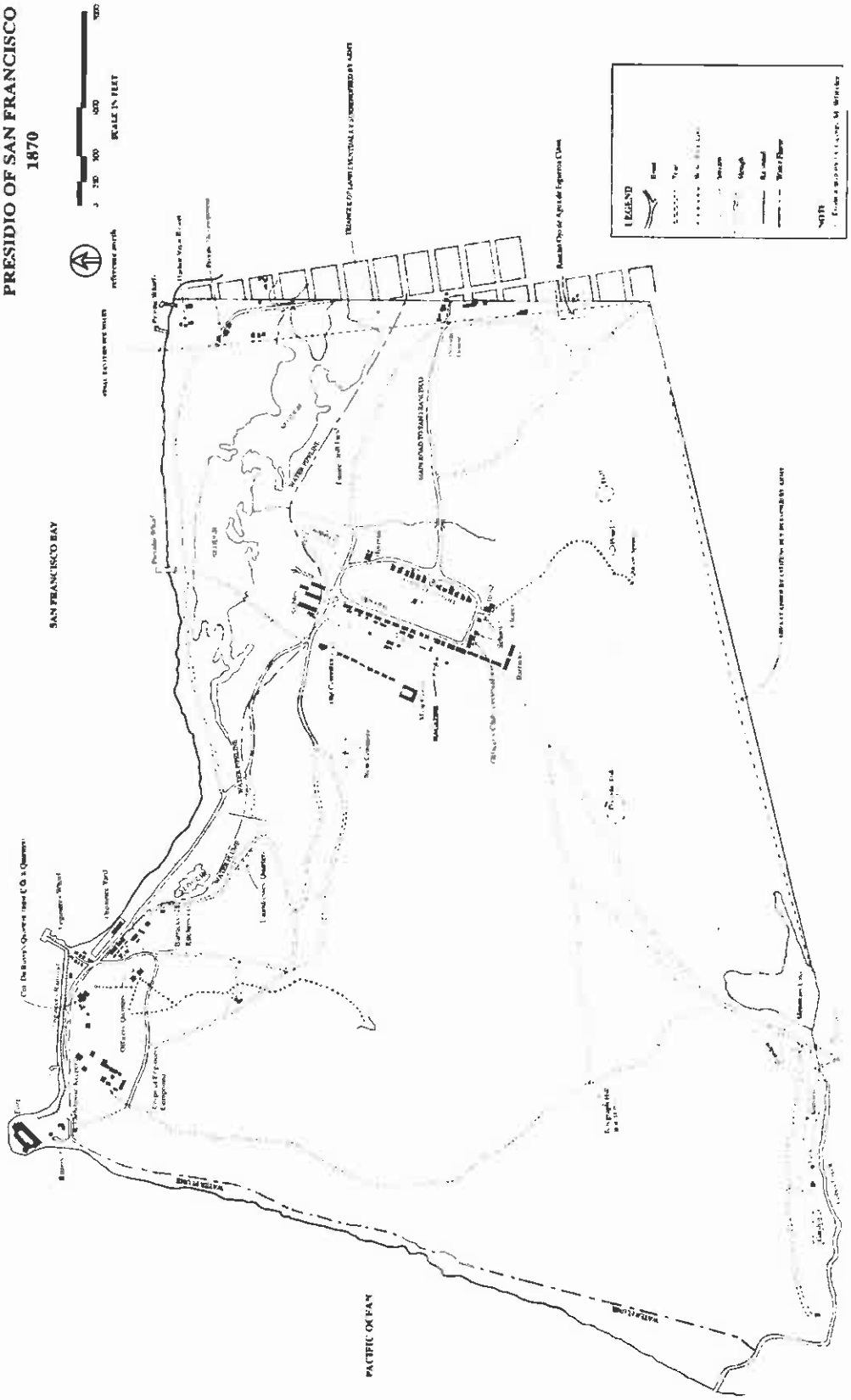
Apparently the wind fence in front of officers' row had proved its worth against the ocean breezes for in 1871, Surgeon Baily requested a similar lattice fence be constructed along the front and southern end of the hospital porch. He wanted doors in this fence to match the doors leading into the hospital. Twice that year the post quartermaster had to repair the halyards on the parade ground flagstaff.[42]

Colonel French became concerned in the spring of 1871 about the sewer system. Until then the drain pipes had been wooden and had proved unsatisfactory for both officers' and barracks' rows. If the barracks sewer were reconstructed with wood, it would take 10,200 feet of lumber, cost $204, and last only three years. A cement sewer, however, would last 50 years and there would be no odors. He recommended cement "as absolutely necessary for the health and cleanliness of the command."[43]

Lieutenant Lord's response to a now-lost letter in 1871 provided the answer as to how one-story barracks at the Presidio became two stories. For some time there had been a need for more barrack space because of the growing complement of troops and the obsolescence of older structures. The two-story barracks built hastily at the south end of the row were about worn out. Lord prepared his plan. He proposed raising the one-story barracks and building a new floor underneath on the same plan as the building then had. He thought that this scheme would be the most economical and give the most satisfaction. To raise the structure eleven feet would cost $275 and a new redwood foundation would require 500 feet of 6-inch by 6-inch timber.

Lord was ahead of the times. Not until 1884 did the quartermaster department convert the two barracks at the north end of the row to two stories [86 and 87] for cavalry troops who needed to be close to the stables.[44]

Only a portion of the annual building report for 1873 has survived. The Presidio forwarded this portion to Washington in a failed effort to acquire construction funds. Among the details was an item saying that the Corral had 16 sets of quarters each having two rooms. One of the



National Archives, Record Group 77. NPS drawing no. 641-20485.

cottages on officers' row served as a post library and billiard room. Two frame barracks, 30 by 120 feet, had so deteriorated that their doors and windows were missing. The post chapel remained in good condition, but not so the school house. The 4th Artillery Regiment had replaced the 2d and it had a large number of married officers. Since the Corral did not serve married couples well, a recommendation called for the largest officer's quarters, no. 12 [5] being converted into a duplex.[45]

The Presidio wharf became a matter of correspondence in 1874. A mystery surrounded its origins, but the Army agreed that it was private property and the owner wished to remove it. The Presidio requested funds for a new government wharf to be located about 140 yards farther east. To reach 12 feet of water it would need to be 100 yards long; 18 feet of water, 120 yards (low tide). The Presidio justified the expense by saying that fuel and forage would be cheaper if brought by water. Also, the roads to the city were almost impassable during the rainy season. For once, the secretary of war approved and the Presidio acquired $6,265 for the work.[46]

The following year Lieutenant Simpson submitted a request to move one of the 1865 two-story barracks at the southwest corner of the post into the rectangle proper. It had no windows or doors and no inside lining. It did have a good frame and could be remodeled into a sound barracks. Then he could convert one of the old one-story barracks into much needed recreation and reading rooms and move the post library out of the officer's quarters, which an officer's family was apparently sharing with the books. Approval given, the barracks moved the length of the parade ground and became the first structure to partially block the open view to the northeast. A sketch map prepared before 1878 labeled it the "New Barracks for Batt'y."[47]

Centennial year, 1876, brought little change to the Presidio's physical plant. The post surgeon requested $250 for repairs to the hospital, including $100 to replace the flooring of the two porches on the eastern side. Troop D of the 1st Cavalry joined the post in 1876. Its commander, Capt. E. V. Sumner, submitted a request to have the abandoned guardhouse at the Fort Point wharf moved to the main post for the use of his stable guard. In his annual request for repair funds, the post quartermaster noted that the laundresses' quarters were in a deplorable condition, "mere shells at best," and the Corral, which he called Bachelors Hall, needed repairs although there were few bachelor officers at the post. Another proposal called for new planking in front of the adjutant's office and the guardhouse. Daily guard mount in that area,

during which the guard was inspected, assignments given, and the men sent to their posts, had worn out the existing planking, which no longer defended against the mud.[48]

Other than the Army's planting trees along officers' row, the records recorded little attention toward landscaping or beautification in these early years. Maps and photographs showed that attention was paid to The Alameda, the entrance to the parade ground. In 1876 the commander, Colonel Brooks, explained that he had used his Reserve Fund to hire a skilled man to maintain the trees and shrubbery along officers' row. (At the same time the post surgeon pointed out that the wooden walkway in front of these quarters had so deteriorated as to cause "throat disease" to the residents.) Brooks said that the only income the Reserve Fund had came from renting out the reservation for stock grazing. Unless he could employ a good man to collect these assessments there would be little income and the animals would soon overrun the place because the fences and gates were constantly out of order.[49]

About that time the post quartermaster, Lt. Frederick Fuger, prepared an estimate for painting the officers' quarters. Neither the quarters nor the chapel had been painted for some years and he proposed "to paint the body of the cottages with shade no. 2; the mouldings with shade 24; and the shutters with shade 30." He attached a pamphlet "Best Paint in the World" from the Pacific Rubber Paint Company in San Francisco that showed shade 2 to be a light yellowish brown, shade 24, a grayish blue (more gray than blue), and shade 30, a rich green. Another of Fuger's letters disclosed that the Presidio no longer contracted for wood as fuel but now depended on coal for heating and cooking. The only major construction in 1877 was a coal bin that had a capacity of 3,673,000 pounds.[50]

For many years the Presidio's main vegetable gardens had been in the vicinity of Mountain Lake. In 1873, however, the War Department granted a revocable lease to the Treasury Department for land in the vicinity of the lake for a new Marine Hospital. The wood-frame hospital, costing $60,000, stood completed in 1875. Two years later the hospital's vegetable gardens had spilled over onto Presidio land. The post commander, Maj. A. P. Howe, raised the issue when he informed the Department that the post garrison no longer received benefit from the gardens. The Department ordered him to investigate fully.

Howe learned that the Marine Hospital's grounds amounted to nearly 86 acres. Of that, the hospital cultivated 8 1/2 acres (Howe thought it had 40 acres capable of being cultivated). In addition the hospital had taken over 8 acres of Presidio land. From what he could learn the

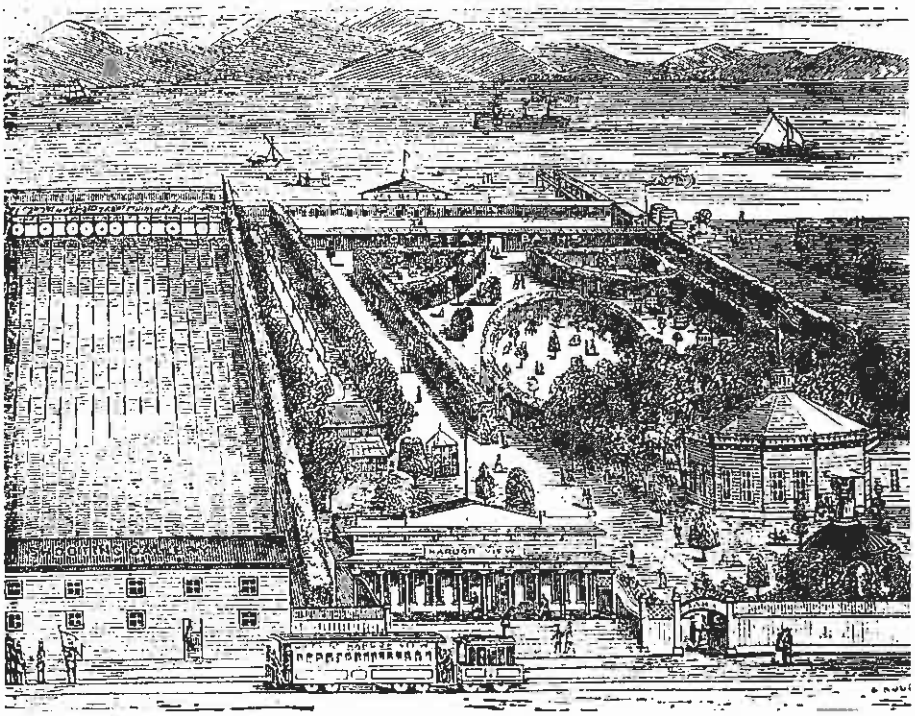
hospital consumed only a small portion of the total produce. Howe urged that all the ground outside the hospital reserve be recovered by the Army and that the garrison resume gardening there. This issue marked the first of continuing squabbles between the two agencies.[51]

As 1877 drew to a close, the Presidio of San Francisco experienced many of the problems that beset all western forts despite being adjacent to a prosperous city. The availability of construction and repair funds constantly failed to meet the demand. Physically the main post and Fort Point had changed but little from the final days of the Civil War a decade earlier.

City and Fort

The first transcontinental railroad reached California in 1869. By 1870 San Francisco's population approached 150,000 people. Citizens had developed property over much of the peninsula and some pressed their claims against the east and south boundaries of the Presidio. Illustrative of the encroaching city, particularly along the scenic bay front, were resorts and recreational activities that crowded against the military reservation. Just outside the Lombard Street gate the Presidio House resort catered to citizens and soldiers since at least the 1860s. Joseph Lee painted a handsome picture of the establishment in 1868. It showed Presidio buildings in the background as well as the verdant Marin hills across the bay.

In addition to Presidio House another public resort bordered the Presidio by the 1860s, Harbor View. Rudolph Hermann erected this establishment near the future intersection of Jefferson and Baker streets near both the Presidio and the bay. The Department of California received a petition from Hermann in June 1872 in which he asked permission to lay a street railroad from the terminus of the Sutter Street railroad through the Presidio "to and beyond" Fort Point. The department asked the senior engineer, Lt. Col. Charles S. Stewart, for his opinion. Stewart replied that Germans gathered at the resort for drinking, dancing, shooting, and the like. Crowds gathered there on weekends. Because it was close to Fort Point, troublesome persons made their way there, and Stewart found it necessary to post a watchman on Sundays to keep people off the parapets of the new coastal batteries being constructed, also noting that "A railroad would bring hundreds of like persons where there is one now." The commanding general let it be known there would be no railroad to Fort Point, but he would not mind one being built into the Presidio as far as the barracks. Such a railroad would take time.[52]



Harbor View Resort, the Presidio's eastern neighbor. It stood just outside the northeast corner of the reservation facing the bay. Note the Presidio & Ferries Railroad steam dummy train. The line extended to the left of this view into the Presidio. View toward the north. *San Francisco Public Library.*

In 1948, Pat Kane, a long-time resident of the Marina district, described the Harbor View of the 1890s as he remembered it. He said that Rudolph Hermann founded the resort in the 1860s, beginning with a roadhouse and shooting gallery. Referring to a photograph, he described the white, two-story shooting gallery to the west. A building housing a bar stood in the center of the resort. A columned porch reached by nine steps stretched across its front. To the east were picnic grounds and a dance hall that had a round roof. Toward the bay were the heated saltwater baths. In Kane's time a four-story, square white tower with lookout windows in the top story stood near the baths. The picnic grounds came to an end at the time of the 1906 earthquake. The 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition caused the closing of the resort. Kane also recalled that a picnic park called the Seaside Gardens and a German beer garden also operated in the vicinity.[53]

By 1870 disputes arose between the civil authorities and the Army as to the true boundaries of the reservation. In the spring of 1867 Deputy Surveyor James T. Stratton surveyed the "Pueblo of San Francisco" and the Presidio to establish officially the line of ownership between the federal government and the city. The city then proceeded to dispose of the lands outside the lines.

Not until Brig. Gen. E. O. C. Ord took command of the Department of California in 1868 did the Army begin to question the Stratton survey. In October 1868 the department ordered the Presidio to locate the cannon at the southeast corner of the reserve that Captain Keyes had planted in 1850, now regarded as the initial point of the survey. The results of that dig are unknown but General Ord directed Lt. George M. Wheeler to carry out a new survey of the reservation.[54]

General Ord, considering the results of the Stratton and Wheeler surveys, filed a protest in November 1868. This protest showed the boundary changes that the Army insisted upon. Most prominent of these included the Army's insistence that the marsh and tidal lands along the bay in the lower Presidio be included in the reserve — the Stratton survey had excluded them, and a new true boundary line along the southern boundary from the initial point to Mountain Lake. This latter included a long sliver of land previously outside the boundary due to faulty surveying in the past.

The City of San Francisco promptly protested Ord's claims insofar as the "tide marsh" lands were concerned. At the same time several individuals, including Adolph Hermann, claimed ownership of lands in the triangle on the east side of the reserve between future Lyon Street and Broderick Street. The division engineer, Maj. Henry M. Robert, reported in 1870 that the Tide Land Commissioners of California claimed all the land between the shore line and the curves of 24 feet of water, and that the North San Francisco Homestead and Rail Road Association claimed ownership of the marsh land having acquired title through an act of the California legislature.[55]

While not directly related to the boundary controversies, the Presidio commander, Capt. A. C. M. Pennington of the 2d Artillery took action in February 1869 to remove "Mr. Cotter" and associates from their "Mountain Lake House." He ordered a corporal and a private, both armed with Spencer carbines, to occupy the property and to resist by force any attempts by citizens to reoccupy.[56]

The battle had barely begun. In June 1869 Secretary of War Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield notified the chief of engineers that a suit had been commenced in the U.S. Circuit Court to remove 5,000 acres of land in California from federal control. Process had already been served on Captain Pennington inasmuch as the suit embraced the Presidio. The War Department reacted by directing the Engineer Department to determine what military reservations in the Bay

Area might be sold without injury to the defenses. "The object now in view," wrote the chief of engineers, "is to offer such ground as can be spared...and to propose to Congress that the proceeds be set apart and appropriated to the purpose of continuing the defensive works of the harbor of San Francisco.[57]

The engineers at San Francisco remained firm in their response. They recommended that no land be sold off. The federal government should resist California's claim to the overflowed land in front of the Presidio, the very land the Army would want to plant guns in case of a naval attack. The 200 or so acres in the contested area on the Presidio's east boundary, however, might be disposed of without injury to the government.[58]

In December 1869, General Ord and Surveyor General Day toured the Presidio and together reviewed the situation. Both concluded that a new survey was a necessity. While Day wondered who owned the marsh lands, the city or the state, Ord wrote that the "Swamp land" and all the waterfront below the line of high tide should be part of the Presidio and efforts should be made to extinguish any State title to the waterfronts.[59]

The Surveyor General's recommendations went to the General Land Office, Washington, D.C., in December 1869, where they were misplaced or lost until 1877. Meanwhile, Wheeler carried out a new survey, which resulted in the excellent 1870 maps of the Presidio. *The Daily Alta California* fumed that "the Commander of the Military Department, misunderstanding entirely his rights and the rights of citizens, took possession of this land, and it has been so held ever since. We are convinced that Stratton's survey was correct."[60]

While Wheeler directed his survey, Bill 370 appeared in the U.S. Senate calling for the transfer of the Presidio to the City of San Francisco for the purpose of a public park. When the Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, reviewed this proposal, it concluded that the title should remain in the United States: "Here may be collected a body of troops in any time of public danger, and the reservation is not too large to accommodate even a small army. From [here]...they will be free to march to the points where they may be needed on this shore." The board noted that the fort at Fort Point was now outmoded, its embrasures no longer large enough to accommodate the latest (15- and 20-inch) guns. Engineers already were designing new batteries for 75 heavy guns, 50 emplacements on the ocean side of the Presidio, 25 on the bay front. When emplaced these weapons would fire over the beach, requiring the whole shore of the reservation.[61]

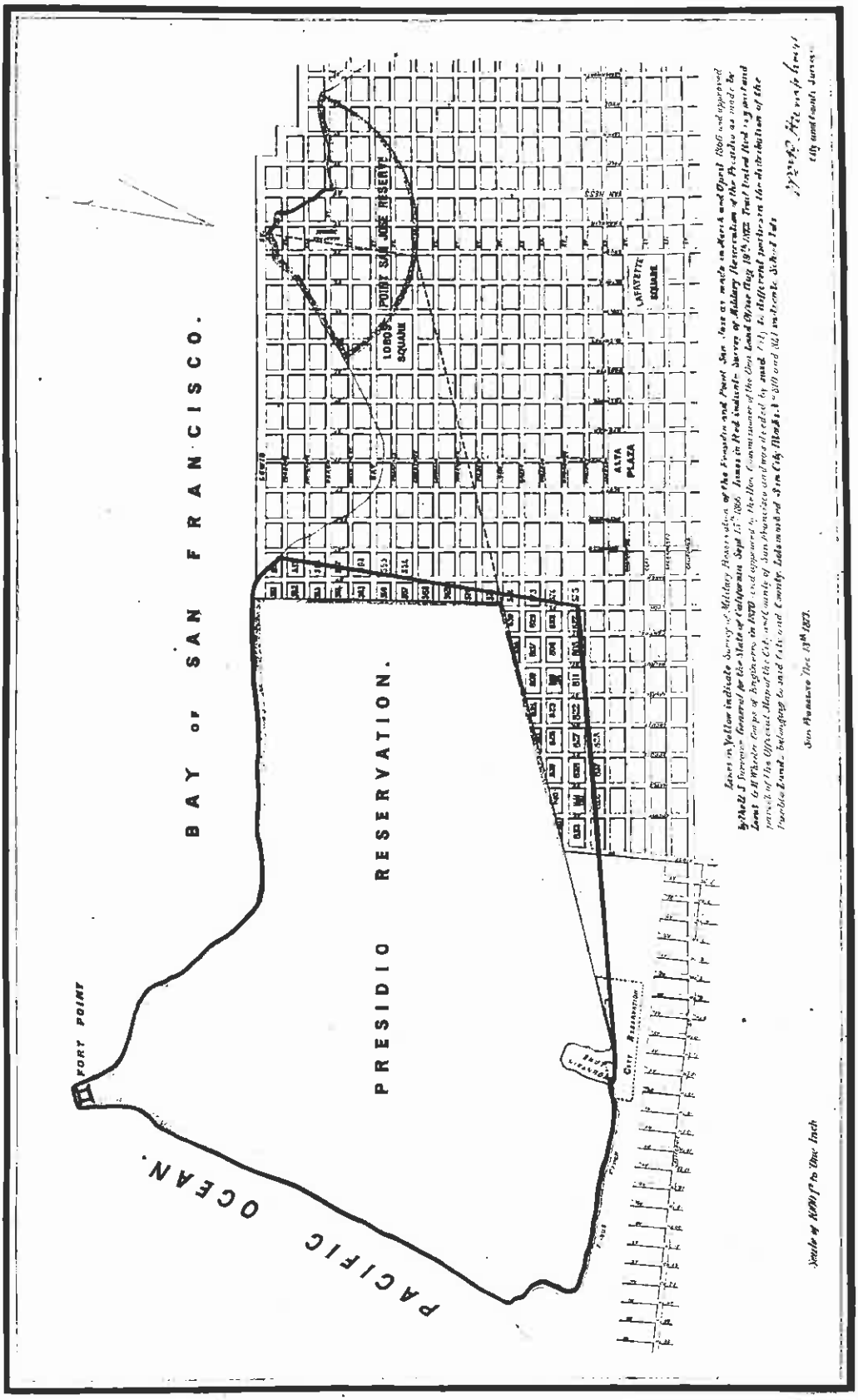
Another bill in the U.S. Senate that spring, number 533, called for the United States to relinquish the triangle of land on the east boundary. The Army, as already indicated, had no objections, and the land was excluded from the reserve. This action must have been a great relief to the owners of the Presidio House, Rudolph Hermann, and the others who had occupied the area for many years. The west side of Lyon Street now marked the eastern boundary of the Presidio. Even then, a further adjustment would be required in future years.[62]

The concept of a Presidio Park refused to die. The newspapers maintained a steady stream of editorial comment urging a public park "forever." The *Alta California* pointed out that Congress had already made Yellowstone a national park and Yosemite was public property. The Presidio's 1,600 acres surpassed what was necessary for defense. Fort Point and the other reservations in the harbor provided sufficient protection. In 1871 a new tactic emerged. Now the newspaper said that the people of San Francisco did not want the United States to part with its title to the Presidio. All they asked was the right to use it as a park, subject to the government's control and re-entry in case of war. U.S. Senator Cornelius Cole of California introduced Bill 310 in 1872 that called for the City of San Francisco leasing the reservation for park purposes.[63]

In February 1872 Senator Cole attempted to rush his bill through the Senate without debate, saying that the California legislature needed a decision immediately. Saving the day for the War Department, several senators refused to take action until they heard the opinion of the secretary of war. Cole argued that the bill had cleared the Committee on Military Affairs and it was more important than the War Department. The Senate, nevertheless, moved on to other business.

Meanwhile, the Army gathered data concerning the proposal. The Engineer Department reported that 300 acres were required at Fort Point for permanent fortifications, another 400 acres for land defenses, and 100 acres for barracks at the main post. The Quartermaster Department estimated that $50,000 would be required to relocate the Presidio's barracks. Further, the value of the Presidio land had now reached the lofty figure of $2 million. None of these figures squelched the desire for a park, but, despite repeated attempts by congressmen and others, the Presidio reservation remained intact.[64]

Turning its attention to the Presidio's south boundary, the Department of California wrote to General Keyes, now retired in California, asking him what he remembered of the original



Map of the Presidio reservation, 1873, prepared by the city surveyor showing areas contested between the city and the federal government. The federal government gave the triangle of land on the east (500 numbers) to the city but retained the shaded area on the south (800 numbers). *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

fence. Keyes replied that all he recalled was that the fence ran from a point near the northeast corner of the Lone Mountain Cemetery to the southern most point of Mountain Lake. Alas, he could not remember who put up the fence or when. The department then turned to the post quartermaster, Lt. J. A. Lord, asking him to search his files. Lord learned that the first fence, of post and wire, had been erected in 1852 (when Keyes had been absent) and that soldiers had repaired it in 1862. Contractor Clarke Avery was now constructing a new fence on the true boundary line as established by Wheeler's 1870 survey. This correction had brought into the Presidio land claimed by no fewer than 12 citizens. While they all protested, the most bothersome was John H. Johnson, the only one who had a structure on the property.[65]

The department instructed the Presidio to continue construction of the new fence and to notify Johnson that he had to move. In April Lord reported that the portion of Johnson's $50 house that had stood on the reservation had been "cut off," and the rest moved away. Thus ended the disputes concerning the southern boundary.[66]

In an effort to put the matter of the Presidio's future to rest, in March 1874, the new commander of the Military Division of the Pacific, Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield, prepared a lengthy letter to John Coburn, the chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives' Military Committee in March 1874. Schofield allowed that it would not be a detriment to the national interest to allow the City of San Francisco to construct roads for public park use on those parts of the reservation not then occupied or used by the government. He thought the War Department should decide what portions could be so used. He thought it would be bad policy to sell any part of the Presidio, because in the event of war all of it would be required for military purposes. Meanwhile, he wrote:

> I see no good reason why a large portion of the reservation should not be used as a public park. The ground to the west and south of the barracks is very rough and irregular, entirely unfit for a military post. East of the barracks is the only portion smooth enough for a drill ground. The use of this ground for this purpose should be reserved, and in general terms the right of the War Department to use any portion of the ground at any time for military purposes should be reserved.

Although citizens did not receive carte blanche to use the Presidio as a public park, Schofield's letter marked the beginning of the Army's policy that the reservation should be an open post, the beginning of an enduring tradition.[67]

When the year 1878 dawned, the issue of ownership of the tidal lands remained on army engineers' minds. In January Senior Engineer Alexander, sitting in the San Francisco office, recorded that the Board of Tide Land Commissioners had already sold portions of the Presidio's tide lands. He urged the federal government to appoint a board of harbor commissioners to be composed of army and navy officers to consider what lands the government should control. If, indeed, the United States did not hold title to these lands, then they should be acquired either by legislation or by purchase. This would take time.[68]

Centennial Year

As the Fourth of July 1876 approached, excitement mounted in the Bay Area as the plans for a grand celebration became public. General Schofield offered the Presidio and Bay Area troops for the event before he transferred from San Francisco. General McDowell, the incoming division commander, would not arrive until after the holiday. Brigadier General McComb of the California National Guard would preside over the array of military events scheduled for July 3, while the City of San Francisco planned a massive parade on the Fourth. In the morning of the July 3, activities were scheduled to take place at the Presidio where a review†, guard mount, brigade exercises, and a "sham battle" would thrill spectators. The afternoon was scheduled for land and sea bombardments by the Army and the Navy in San Francisco Bay.

As usual, the morning dawned gray as a heavy fog aided by a stiff wind settled over the bay. Thousands upon thousands of people made their way along the thoroughfares to the Presidio and adjoining hills to watch the spectacles. The military exercises took place on the level plateau to the east of officers' row. By 9 A.M. the National Guard's Second Brigade had assembled on the plateau and Governor Irwin of California reviewed the troops. General McComb directed the brigade through a series of maneuvers, including forming lines of battle in various directions. Then came the main event. A line of skirmishers†, followed by the main body, advanced across the plateau toward an enemy emerging from the Harbor View resort area. The bodies clashed in combat. Smoke from small arms and artillery pieces swirled over the plodding infantrymen and the dashing cavalry. Back and forth they went, until the defender finally forced the enemy to retreat. Smelling victory, McComb ordered his troops to withdraw. Too soon! The enemy thrust forward one last time. The defenders rallied, turned, repulsed the desperate drive, and emerged victorious.

Spectators watching a "mock battle" of land and sea forces in observance of America's centennial celebration, July 3, 1876. Excellent view of Presidio buildings - stables and post hospital on the right, officers' row the nearer buildings, barracks and flagstaff to the rear. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Only one mishap occurred. An elderly gentleman named Carey and his wife, confused, drove their buggy directly into a cavalry charge and disappeared in a cloud of dust. Though the buggy lay in a thousand pieces, the couple emerged with only bruises. Of all the participants, probably the Presidio's Trader Beretta profited the most. The post commander had ordered all other refreshment sellers off the reservation and Beretta scattered his booths among the crowd. By all accounts the morning's activities were a smashing success.[69]

The afternoon brought the big guns into action. Batteries at Fort Point, Point San Jose, and on Alcatraz poised for a bombardment against both land and water targets. In the harbor warships *Jamestown*, *Pensacola*, and *Portsmouth* (shades of San Francisco 1846) prepared to destroy an enemy vessel (a mocked up "fire vessel" at anchor). The Army's 15-inch Rodman guns opened with a half hour of heavy fire aimed at targets on Lime Point and Angel Island. This fire was erratic at best, but the thousands cheered anyway. The warships then fired on the

hostile vessel, but to no avail. The captains later explained that the wind had become unpredictable and the outgoing tide had dragged the target beyond range. (Alcatraz's guns came to the Navy's aid, but added nothing to its laurels.) Later, someone from a revenue cutter boarded the target vessel and set it on fire. Nevertheless, it was a glorious celebration on that centennial day.

The Presidio garrison at that time consisted of four batteries of the 4th Artillery and Troop D of the 1st Cavalry — 15 officers and 218 enlisted men. They participated in the celebration but the reporters quite naturally dwelt on the California guardsmen. The only known damage on the reservation involved the Fort Point light keeper. The 15-inch guns at the Point inflicted unspecified injury to his property — probably broken windows.[70]

Indian Wars

As far as the Presidio's troops were concerned, the 1870s brought a climax in the long, sad history of Indian conflict. At the end of 1872 Division of the Pacific troops from Fort Klamath, Oregon, and northern California's Modoc Indians under their leader, Keintpoos (better known as Captain Jack),[71] exchanged gunfire on the northern edge of the almost impenetrable lava beds just south of the Oregon border. Thus began the Modoc War, in which a small band of Indians held off the U.S. Army for six long and terrible months. At San Francisco Brig. Gen. E. R. S. Canby, acting division commander in place of General Schofield who was on a detail in Hawaii, received orders in February 1873 directing him to negotiate personally with the Modocs following a stalemate in the fighting. Two of the Presidio's 4th Artillery batteries, A and M, had already been ordered into battle; Batteries B and K soon followed. On April 11, Modoc leaders in a conference with Canby and others unexpectedly attacked and killed the general. The nation was stunned.

In pursuit of the enemy, Capt. Evan Thomas, commanding the 4th Artillery's Battery A, led a large patrol into the lava beds. Accompanying him were Lt. George M. Harris leading the Presidio's Battery K, and Lt. Thomas F. Wright, former commander of the Presidio during the Civil War and now leader of Company E of the 12th Infantry. Presidio officers Lt. Albion Howe, Battery A, and Lt. Arthur Cranston, Battery M, also accompanied the patrol that consisted of five officers, 59 men, a surgeon, civilian guide, and civilian packer. On April 26 the patrol marched toward the lava beds. At noon it stopped for rest and food. The Modocs, hidden in the lava, suddenly struck. Before the assault ended, Thomas, Cranston, Wright, and

Howe lay dead. Lieutenant Harris suffered mortal wounds. Twenty enlisted men had been killed and another 16 wounded. Among the dead artillerymen, 1st Sgt. Robert Romer of Battery A was one of two enlisted men later singled out for gallantry and bravery. The Modocs slipped away among the frozen waves of lava.

On May 8, 1873, the bodies of Captain Thomas and Lieutenant Howe arrived at San Francisco en route to the east coast. Lieutenant Harris' mother escorted her son's remains home to Philadelphia. Lieutenant Cranston's body was laid to rest in the Presidio post cemetery. General Canby's body lay in state for two days in San Francisco, while flags remained at half-staff on all public buildings for this man who had had a deep sympathy for American Indians. The *Oakland Daily Transcript* recorded that on May 5 the solemn ceremonies were the most brilliant ever witnessed in San Francisco. A ferry carried the casket to Oakland where it was placed aboard a special car that the Central Pacific Railroad had provided.[72]

War in the lava beds dragged on for another two months. Col. Jefferson C. Davis, the new commander of the Department of the Columbia, took charge of operations, reorganized and trained the dispirited soldiers, and renewed pursuit of the evasive enemy. The Presidio's Capt. Henry C. Hasbrouck of the 4th Artillery commanded the 2d Cavalry Squadron that consisted of his own men of Battery B, already mounted, and two troops of cavalry. He led the squadron† in a successful skirmish with Modocs at a dry waterhole named Sorass Lake. Next, Hasbrouck, along with Capt. David Perry of the 1st Cavalry Squadron, participated in the surrender of the western band of Modocs on May 22, 1873.

Colonel Davis then turned his attention to Captain Jack and his followers who had fled east from the lava beds. He organized his mounted troops into three squadrons. Captain Hasbrouck again commanded the 2d Squadron — Battery B, 4th Artillery; Troop G, 1st Cavalry, and 20 Warm Spring Indian scouts, along with 30 pack mules. For the next 10 days the command pursued the fleeing Modocs and succeeded in capturing small groups. Captain Jack himself surrendered on June 1, 1873, bringing the fighting to a conclusion. Colonel Davis telegraphed to San Francisco: "I am happy to announce the termination of the Modoc difficulties."

Captain Hasbrouck became a member of the military commission that tried Modoc leaders in July 1873, finding six men guilty of murder and assault with intent to kill. Four were hanged, but two Modocs, Barncho and Sloluck, had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment in

the military prison on Alcatraz Island. Hasbrouck and Battery B escorted the surviving Modoc Indians by train to Fort McPherson, Nebraska. There he delivered them to army officials for travel to exile in the Indian Territory. Barncho died on Alcatraz on May 28, 1875, and was buried on Angel Island. Later, his remains were reinterred in the San Francisco National Cemetery. Sloluck eventually joined his exiled people in Indian Territory.

Batteries A, K, and M of the 4th Artillery returned to the Presidio of San Francisco in July 1873, and Battery B arrived back a month later. The four batteries had suffered a total of 27 casualties among their enlisted men: nine killed in action, three missing in action, 14 wounded in action, and one who accidentally wounded himself in action. The artillery had acquitted itself well in a nasty war involving infantry and cavalry tactics.[73]

Three years later, following the Custer debacle in Montana Territory, the Presidio's Battery C of the 4th Artillery joined the expedition headed by Brig. Gen. George Crook in pursuit of the Sioux (the Powder River expedition). The battery did not participate in the fighting that ensued but performed the essential task of guarding a supply train from Camp Robinson, Nebraska, to the Black Hills. Battery C returned to the Presidio in January 1877 after a four-month absence.

Conflict between Indians and settlers led to full-scale hostilities in the Nez Perce country of northern Idaho in the summer of 1877. Brig. Gen. O. O. Howard, commanding the Department of the Columbia, assembled a force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery troops following the Army's disastrous defeat at White Bird Canyon in June. Troop D of the 1st Cavalry departed the Presidio and joined Howard's command in July. Battery B of the 4th Artillery again commanded by Capt. Henry Hasbrouck, also headed for Idaho Territory and took temporary post at Fort Boise in support of the command.

The Nez Perces crossed the rugged Bitterroot mountains and traveled east, encountering another army force in the valley of the Big Hole River. The Indians continued on, passing through Yellowstone National Park and into Montana, heading for the safety of Canada. Howard's column followed but the exhausted soldiers did not succeed in overtaking the Nez Perces. A fresh army column under Col. Nelson A. Miles caught up with the Nez Perces in Montana's Bears Paw Mountains at the end of September. A sharp firefight ensued, followed by a 5-day siege. The majority of the Indians surrendered on October 5, 1877, to Miles and

Howard, the latter having arrived the day before. About 300 Nez Perces escaped into Canada to join Sitting Bull, the Sioux leader who had fled there the previous winter.

The Nez Perce War had ended. Troop D began the long march to Winnemuca, Nevada, where it boarded a train for San Francisco. It arrived at the Presidio on October 25. The post return recorded that the troop had marched 1,250 miles, in addition to 930 miles traveled by rail. An unidentified newspaper reported, "These are the heroes of Howard's march....Not peace soldiers in all the tinsel of dress parade, but men who show in face and clothing the hard service they have performed for their country."[74]

In June 1878 Captain Hasbrouck and Battery B of the 4th Artillery, again mounted as cavalry, left the Presidio en route to southern Idaho where trouble had broken out between Bannock Indians and settlers. The Bannocks, joined by their Paiute allies and others, began a plundering raid along the Snake River in southern Idaho and westward into Oregon. General Howard arrived at Boise and assembled a command of infantry, cavalry, and artillery (including Battery B) and pursued the raiders. Battery B's role in the difficult campaign was confined to patrolling the hot, dry country of southern Idaho. In August Lt. Charles F. Humphrey led a detachment of 20 men on a scout of 19 days from Camp McDermit to Boise and return, a distance of 380 miles. Pvt. John Fisher, leading a three-man patrol, encountered a party of hostile Bannocks at a Snake River ferry crossing on July 31. The soldiers succeeded in defending a stage station and they rescued a stage and its driver who had been wounded. The Bannock War had pretty well ended by September. By then Battery B, still equipped as cavalry, had already returned to the Presidio, on August 24.[75]

The last time Presidio troops participated in the Indian Wars occurred in 1885–1886 when Troops A and K of the 2d Cavalry traveled to Fort Bowie, Arizona, to support Brig. Gen. George Crook against the Apache Indians in his second Geronimo campaign. These troops carried out numerous patrols during the early months of 1886. When Brig. Gen. Nelson Miles succeeded Crook as commander in Arizona in April he found the 2d Cavalry troopers†, "not only discouraged but thoroughly disheartened" due to the long time they had been in the field carrying out hazardous duties with no success against the Apaches. On May 31, 1886, the Presidio of San Francisco dropped Troops A and K from its rolls, and they transferred to the Department of Arizona.[76]

These postwar years had seen few physical developments at the Presidio as funds remained scarce. Development in San Francisco, however, had advanced steadily toward the post, forcing adjustments in the Presidio's boundaries. Citizens continued to enjoy the scenic and natural wonders of the open post, which became the centerpiece of northern California's celebration of the United States' 100 years of nationhood in 1876. Artillerymen composed the garrison during these years, guarding the Golden Gate. They also participated in significant Indian campaigns in the West. They served as infantry and cavalry in battles and skirmishes extending from the Canadian to the Mexican borders. Then, as the 1870s drew to a close, change came to the Presidio when the Army's western headquarters moved from the city to the post.

Chapter 5 Notes:

1. Post Returns, PSF, 1865–1872. The 2d Artillery Regiment, like the prewar 3d Artillery, first organized under a congressional act in 1812. Reorganized in 1821 it remained as such until it merged into the Artillery Corps in 1901. Heitman, *Historical Register*, pp. 52 and 56.

2. William French, commanding officer, PSF, February 1, 1872, to Military Division of the Pacific, Letters Sent PSF; General Orders 32, PSF, November 9, 1870, Post Orders 1870–1871, both in U.S. Continental Commands, RG 393, NA; Post Returns, PSF, January 1876. Parrott guns of different sizes were employed in the service of the United States in the nineteenth century. They were muzzle-loading and made of cast iron, reinforced with a wrought iron jacket. *Wilhelm's Military Dictionary*, p. 374.

3. Orders for the Fort Point Guard, PSF microfilm, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; *Alta California*, September 11, 1866.

4. *Daily Alta California*, May 19, 1868; Special Orders 42, May 1, and 51, May 17, 1868, Post Letters, 1867–1869, PSF, RG 393, NA. It is believed that shortly after this incident the Fort Point military prisoners were moved to Alcatraz Island.

5. Capt. A. C. M. Pennington, PSF, September 25, 1868, to Maj. George H. Elliot, Corps of Engineers (CE), Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

6. At first the U.S. Army used the term "company" for units making up a regiment in all combat arms. From 1861 to 1871 "company" and "battery" were interchangeable for the Artillery. In 1871 the adjutant general prescribed only the term "battery" for artillery units. *The Army Almanac* (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1959), p. 12. Likewise, a cavalry company eventually came to be called a "troop," in 1882.

7. Headquarters, PSF, Orders 55, November 18, 1865, Microfilm Presidio of San Francisco, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Circular, September 8, 1868, Post Letters, 1867–1869, PSF; and Coffman, *Old Army*, p. 375.

8. Circular, June 19, 1868, Post Letters, 1867–1869, PSF; Adjutant, January 15, 1870, to Lt. A. Schenck, and June 18, 1878, to Lt. W. Ennis, Letters Sent, PSF, all in RG 393, NA.

9. French, March 26, 1872, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF RG 393, NA.

10. *Daily Alta California*, May 21, 1869.

11. Maj. H. [name unknown], December 22, 1902, Charges and Specifications, Letters and Endorsements, Medical Department, 1902–1903; Rawles, January 3 and September 19, 1902, to Department of California, and September 19, 1902, to Charles Stewart, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

12. E. Millar, November 7, 1901, to Buffalo Brewing Co.; Rawles, August 1, 1902, to Department of California, Letters Sent, RG 393, NA.

13. Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, pp. 80–81.

14. French, October 24, 1872 and December 22, 1877, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. *Daily Alta California*, May 16, 1869; Stephen Perry Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali, A Biography* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1953), p. 164.

15. Commanding officer, Battery A, 1st Artillery, June 28, 1887, Letters Received, 1887–1888, RG 393, NA; *Daily Alta California*, July 7, 1887.

16. Orders 307, November 29, 1890, Post Orders 1890–1891, PSF; O'Brien, February 16, 1894, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, 1893–1894, PSF, RG 393, NA.

17. H. Harris, December 10, 1889, to Major McGregor; Graham, May 27, 1891, to Department of California, Letters Sent; Orders 247, October 29, 1891, and Orders 71, April 29, 1895, Post Orders, 1891–1895, PSF, RG 393, NA.

18. J. Coffin, February 17, 1891, to commanding officer, Battery F, and February 18, to Asst. Surg. L. Breckerin; and March 21, 1892, to commanding officer, Battery K, 5th Artillery, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

19. Orders 272, December 1, 1891, Post Orders 1891–1892; Detective, San Francisco, February 13, 1896, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1896, PSF, RG 393, NA.

20. H. B. Freeman, April 22, 1899, to Department of California, Letters Sent; C. B. Thompson, April 26, 1899, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received, RG 393, NA.

21. French, March 26, 1872, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; Col. H. Brooks, November 7, 1876, Post Endorsements, 1875–1878, both in RG 393, NA.

22. Letitia Quatman Ellsworth, "The Centennial Tree," pp. 1–3. In the Bicentennial Year 1976, a Monterey Cypress was planted next to Beretta's tree.

23. Brooks, January 22, 1874, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; and March 20, 1876, Post Endorsements, 1875–1878; French, December 19, 1876, Post Endorsements, 1875–1878, all in RG 393, NA; U.S. Army, *Ecology Trail, U.S. Army Presidio of San Francisco* (1980), p. 14. The trader was not named in any of the 1876 correspondence.

24. Assistant adjutant general, Fry, Division of the Pacific, August 19, 1868, Microfilm PSF, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; PSF Post Endorsements, July 29, 1871; Post adjutant, December 19, 1868, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

25. Capt. E. Williston, July 21, 1871, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; Post Surg. S. A. Storrow, May 25, 1877, Post Endorsements 1875–1878; Special Orders 62, July 9, 1870, Post Orders 1869–1871, all in RG 393, NA.

26. Marshall McDonald and Associates, *Report and Recommendations on Angel Island, 1769–1966* (n.p., 1966), pp. 72 and 74; Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975), p. 44; Richard A. Wisniewski, *"The Rise and Fall of the Hawaiian Kingdom," A Pictorial History* (Honolulu: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 1979), p. 67; Joseph C. Porter, *Paper Medicine Man, John Gregory Bourke and His American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), p. 23; Special Orders 11, January 20, 1871, Post Orders 1870–1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

27. French, April 24, 1878, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Throughout this chapter it has not always been possible to learn the results of the issues because of the lack of records. RG 393 quite often contains only a synopsis rather than the correspondence. Many of the "Letters Sent" and "Letters Received" files are missing, as is the "Record of Medical History of Post."

28. Circular, October 21, 1870, Post Orders 1870–1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

29. General Orders 44, December 16, 1870, Post Orders 1870–1871, PSF; Lt. J. Lord, post quartermaster, May 18 and August 17, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF; French, June 23, 1878, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, all in RG 393, NA.

30. U.S. Army, *Outline Description of the Posts and Stations of Troops in the Military Division of the Pacific* (San Francisco 1871); and *Military Posts in the Military Division of the Pacific, 1879*, p. 69.

31. *San Francisco City Directories*, California Historical Society. The question has been raised as to where headquarters held retirement parades and the like. Fort Mason? Presidio of San Francisco? The records are silent.

32. Chief of Engineers Humphreys, January 27, 1868, to Alexander; Letters Sent, Alexander, March 14, 1868, to Humphreys, Letters Received (A File), 1867–1870, both in OCE, RG 77, NA.

33. Humphreys, April 1, 1868, to Halleck, and July 30, 1868, to the adjutant general, Letters Sent, 1866–1870, OCE, RG 77, NA.

34. Mae K. Silver, "Henry M. Robert's San Francisco Experience," MS, p. 2; *Webster's American Military Biographies*, pp. 351–352. Robert enlarged, revised, and published his work in 1915 as *Robert's Rules of Order Revised*.

35. Humphreys, July 15, 1874 to Secretary of War Belknap, Letters Sent 1873–1875, OCE, RG 77, NA.

36. Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, Orders 1, March 3, 1869, Letters Received, Second Division, 1866–1870, OCE, RG 77, NA; U.S. Army, *The U.S. Army in Alaska* (1976), p. 12. In World War II Fort Raymond at Seward, Alaska, was named in the captain's honor.

37. Bearss, *Fort Point*, pp. 229–230.

38. Surgeon general, *Circular 4, A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington: War Department, 1870), reprint 1974, pp. 172–175. The surgeon general republished Baily's report in 1875 with little change.

39. Quartermaster general, *Outline Description of U.S. Military Posts and Stations in the Year 1871* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 92–93. Concerning Tunnel Spring, a large map of the reservation prepared in 1870 appears to show a pipeline running from "Queen Spring," a source a short distance southwest of historic El Polin Spring that seems to be indicated by a pool of water. An undocumented account of El Polin Spring described its appearance in 1870 as having a well, 3 feet in diameter and 10 feet deep and about 6 feet east of the stream bed. Box 38.1, "El Polin Spring," PAM.

40. Map, "Presidio of San Francisco, California," from the 1870 surgeon general's report.

41. The land and boundary issues are discussed in a following section.

42. Baily, September 25, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF; Lord, April 10, 1871, Endorsements Sent, PSF; Post adjutant, December 13, 1871, to Lord, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

43. Lord, April 10 and 26, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF; French, April 11 and 26, 1871, Endorsements Sent, 1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

44. Lord, November 15, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF, RG 393, NA. Proof is lacking that barracks 86 and 87, now two stories, were originally the one-story buildings at the north end of the row. Today building 87 is slightly longer than building 86. That they are the original, but modified, structures appears to be born out by Baily's 1870 report that listed one barracks 95 feet in length and one, 80 feet (all the others then being considerably shorter).

45. Lt. J. Simpson, Portion of Annual Report for 1872–1873, PSF, CCF, RG 92, NA. Quarters 12 had become the largest because of unofficial add-ons.

46. Simpson, November 21, 1874, to Department of California, CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

47. Simpson, May 12, 1875, to quartermaster general, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Sketch Map accompanying *Outline Descriptions of the Military Posts in the Military Division of the Pacific, 1879*. By then the four 1865 barracks had been demolished. This remodeled barracks became the home of the light artillery battery at the Presidio because of its nearness to the stables.

48. Surg. J. C. McKee, Estimate for Hospital Repair 1876; Assistant Quartermaster J. W. Roder, July 13, 1876, to quartermaster general, both in CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Capt. E. V. Sumner, February 15, 1876, to commanding officer, PSF, Post Endorsements 1875–1878, RG 393, NA. A year later materials for the eight laundresses' quarters arrived: walls and underpinning, floors for 64 rooms, repair of steps, roof shingles, 10 doors and frames, and six windows and frames. Maj. A. P. Howe, September 11, 1877, Post Endorsements 1875–1878, PSF, RG 393, NA.

49. Brooks, August 25, 1876, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; Post surgeon, May 10, 1877, to post adjutant, CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

50. Fuger, March 12 and July 22, 1877, to Department of California, CCF, PSF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

51. Howe, October 4, 1877, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF; and October 19, 1877, Post Endorsements 1875–1878, PSF, both in RG 393, NA.

52. S. Breck, Department of California, June 10, 1872, to commanding officer, PSF; Stewart, July 26, 1872, to Chief of Engineers, Land Papers, PSF, OCE, RG 77, NA.

53. Robert O'Brien, "Saltwater Baths and Moonlight Picnics, 1890s," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1948, reprinted in *Marine Memoirs*, Local History Studies, 16: 17–18, California History Center, Cupertino, CA. Presidio records contain mention of the army band giving concerts at the Seaside Gardens.

54. *Daily Alta California*, February 14, 1874, and September 24, 1877; Department of California, October 23, 1868, to commanding officer, PSF, PSF Microfilm, Bancroft Library, Berkeley. "Pueblo of San Francisco" was a legal term much used in the early American period when the courts and legislatures attempted to settle land claims that originated before and after 1848. Bancroft, in his history of California, stated, "It seems to have been generally understood that by law and usage a pueblo was entitled to at least four leagues of land." And, "as a matter of fact, San Francisco was a pueblo in 1835–46...By an act of congress in 1866 the United States ceded the government title to the city...excepting the military reservations." In his history of California, Professor John W. Caughy wrote, "The Act [of Congress] of 1851 gave due recognition to the Spanish-Mexican practice whereby a town was entitled to four leagues of land." In the case of San Francisco, in 1860, "the state supreme court upheld the pueblo title. Congress made the ordinance effective against any possible federal title, and in 1867 the pueblo title was finally confirmed." Bancroft, *California*, 6: 565–568; Caughy, *California*, pp. 156–157.

55. *Daily Alta California*, September 24, 1877; Robert, December 15, 1870, to Military Division of the Pacific, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

56. Special Orders 24, February 23, 1869, Post Orders 1867–1869, PSF; Pennington, February 24, 1869, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

57. Secretary of war, June 24, 1869, to Engineer Department; Chief of engineers, July 26, and 27, 1869, to Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

58. Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, October 15, 1869, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

59. Surveyor General Day, December 8, 1869, to General Land Office; Ord, ca. December 1869, Bulky file, OCE, RG 77, NA; *Daily Alta California*, September 24, 1877.

60. *Daily Alta California*, February 14, 1874; Department of California, February 3, 1870, to Wheeler, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

61. Board of Engineers, Pacific Coast, "Military Report," February 9, 1870, to Engineer Department, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

62. Secretary of war, February 24, 1870, to Engineer Department; Alexander, March 14, 1870; Ord, December 2, 1870, all in Bulky file, OCE, RG 77, NA.

63. *Daily Alta California*, April 7 and July 1, 1870; February 2, 1871; January 26 and February 28, 1872; and February 20, 1874.

64. Secretary of war, January 31, 1872, to Engineer Department, and February 7, 1872, to Quartermaster Department; Engineer Department, February 1 and March 8, 1872, to War Department, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA. *Daily Alta California*, February 28, 1872.

65. Department of California, March 31, 1871, to Keyes; Keyes, April 17, 1871, to Department of California, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA; Lord, April 19, 1871, Post Endorsements, PSF, RG 393, NA.

66. Department of California, April 18, 1871, to commanding officer, PSF, and Lord, April 19 and 28, 1871, Endorsements Sent, March–December 1871, PSF, RG 393, NA.

67. Schofield, March 6, 1874, to Coburn, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

68. Alexander, January 24, 1878, to McDowell, Bulky File, OCE, RG 77, NA.

69. *Daily Alta California*, June 25 and July 5, 1876; *The Fort Point Salvo* (September 1976).

70. Post Returns, PSF, July 1876; Brooks, November 13, 1876, Post Endorsements 1875–1878, PSF, RG 393, NA.

71. Captain Jack's Indian name has had several variations including Klintpoos, Lint-poos, Kientpoos, and Kintpuash.

72. Erwin Thompson, *Modoc War, Its Military History and Topography* (Sacramento: Argus Books, 1971), pp. 82–92, 95–98, 105–107, 109–113, and 122–126. Max L. Heyman, Jr., *Prudent Soldier, A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby, 1817–1873* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1959), p. 380.

73. Post Returns, PSF, October 1877; Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 265.

74. Post Returns, PSF, October 1877; Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 265. Battery B of the 4th Artillery had returned to the Presidio in August.

75. Post Returns, PSF, 1878; Utley, *Frontier Regulars*, pp. 322–329. Charles Frederick Humphrey had won the Medal of Honor the year before in the Nez Perce War. His citation read, "Voluntarily and successfully conducted, in the face of a withering fire, a party which recovered possession of an abandoned howitzer and two Gatling guns lying between the lines a few yards from the Indians." In 1884 Captain Humphrey prepared a masterly report on the Presidio's buildings. His later service involved the Quartermaster Department where he served as the quartermaster general from 1903 to 1907. He retired in 1907 with the rank of major general.

76. Post Returns, PSF, 1878–1885; John Phillip Langellier, "Bastion by the Bay, A History of the Presidio of San Francisco, 1776–1906." (Ph.D. diss., Kansas State University, 1982), p. 167; Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 2:477.

Chapter 6. A Headquarters Post, 1878–1887

The headquarters of the Military Division of the Pacific remained at the Presidio of San Francisco for nine years — years that must have seemed long for both commanding general and post commander. The general had to occupy a small office in a humble barracks building, hardly a suitable environment for that rank and position of authority. The colonel, heretofore responsible for the entire military reservation, found himself without the authority to conduct much of the post's affairs. Even a majority of the principal buildings had been taken from his care. While artillery troops again garrisoned Fort Winfield Scott for a time during the 1880s, the fort was reduced to a caretaking status once again. Finally, in 1887, the War Department authorized the division headquarters to return to more suitable accommodations in downtown San Francisco. One positive outcome from the decade, not yet fully apparent, was General McDowell's presence on the post for four years. He was a stickler for improving the appearance of the reservation and its landscape.

The Division Moves to the Presidio

Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell took charge of the Military Division of the Pacific and the Department of California in July 1876. He established his residence in an officer's quarters at Point San Jose (Fort Mason) and his offices in the Phelan Building in downtown San Francisco. Not satisfied with his quarters, the general had a large handsome residence constructed at Fort Mason from where he could ride comfortably to the downtown office or work in a personal library at home. The Army had customarily established regional headquarters in nearby cities, such as Chicago, St. Paul, Denver, Omaha, that offered good communications and transportation. On the Pacific coast, San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, served admirably for these purposes. City real estate developers also favored the custom.

On June 18, 1878, in a move to instill economy in army operations, a congressional act was approved that resulted in the Army's commanding general, William Sherman, ordering all the military headquarters to give up their rented facilities and move to the nearest army posts. On the West coast the combined Military Division of the Pacific and the Department of California moved out to the Presidio. The Department of the Columbia crossed the river and set up shop at Vancouver Barracks in Washington Territory.[1]

At that time McDowell's staff amounted to 15 officers and 20 "General Service" clerks, most of whom were married. Out at the Presidio the garrison in the summer of 1878 counted 18

officers and 254 enlisted men under the command of Col. William H. "old Blinky" French of the 4th Artillery. This fairly large command occupied the greater part of the quarters and barracks then at the main post. Since funds did not exist for much new construction, a solution had to be found quickly to make room for the division personnel. That event occurred in June when mass transfers took place. Presidio troops moved to Alcatraz and Angel islands and to Nevada; Colonel French himself crossed the bay to Angel Island. The post complement now consisted of 7 officers and 62 men of the 4th Artillery under the command of Capt. Henry C. Hasbrouck. On September 16, Capt. John Egan of the 4th Artillery and Batteries A and K (5 officers and 61 men) reoccupied Fort Point.[2]

Work began in August 1878 on the remodeling of Presidio structures. General McDowell personally directed the changes. The most visible change involved officers' row, including the hospital at the north end and the bachelor officers quarters at the south. While the basic form of the 12 cottages [buildings 5 through 16] remained intact, all their appendages on the east side (facing the city) were removed, including bathrooms, servants' quarters, an occasional stable, gardens, sheds, and the like. The quartermaster then built new additions to the west side, including bathrooms and water closets. The effect was to reverse the front and rear sides of the buildings so that the rears now faced the parade — an architectural event that must have been unique in the history of army architecture. From now on visitors from the city to army headquarters first came upon the handsome row of Civil War cottages, their facades smiling upon them.

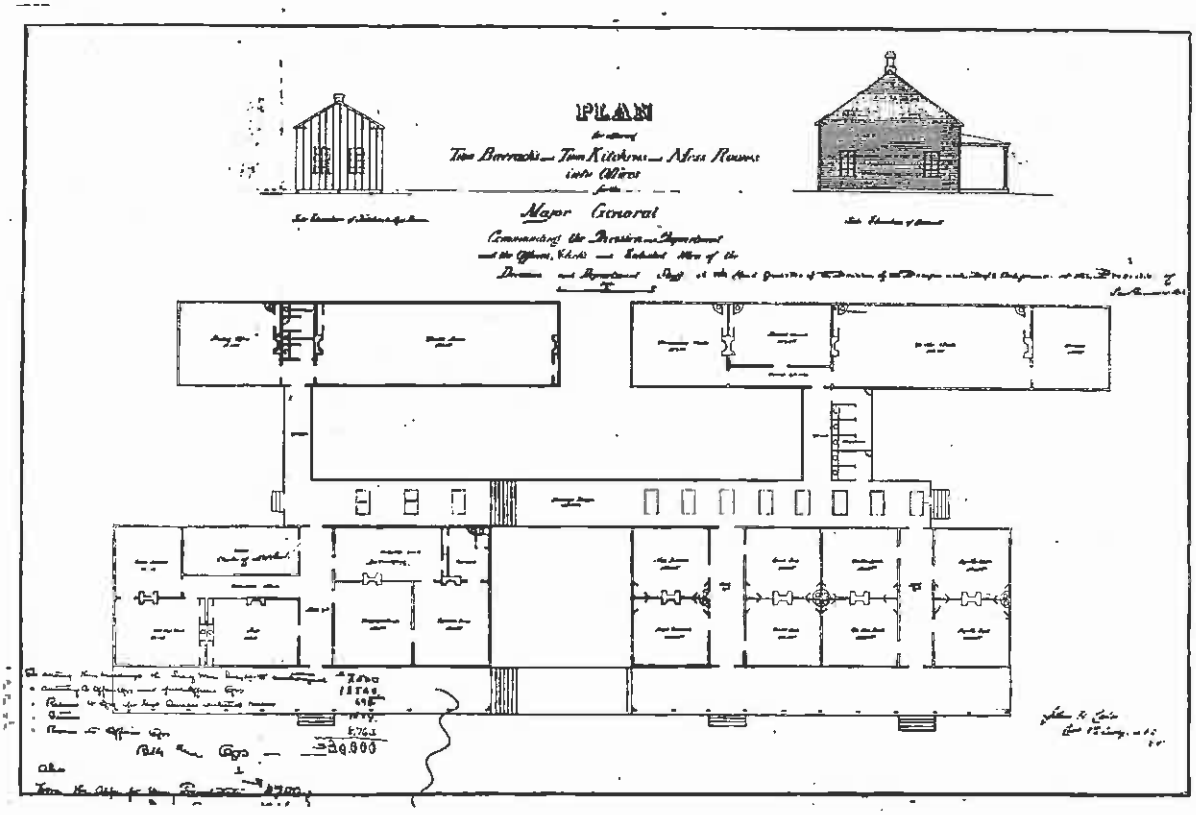
The Corral's 16 two-room apartments underwent changes to become enlarged quarters for officers' families. At the hospital, the upper floor of the ell on the southeast corner of the building, which had originally served as a prison ward, was detached from the building and made into a comfortable residence for the hospital steward†. The brick lower floor of the ell, which served as a morgue, remained for the time being. Other changes affecting the hospital included moving a latrine to the new rear (west), extending the porch on the new front (east), repairing the plumbing, and laying a new sewer.[3]

Quartermaster Holabird described the remodeled officers' quarters:

> Buildings 1 and 2 [16 and 15] each had four rooms and a kitchen on the main floor and four very small attic rooms. Both were ready for occupancy. The division inspector general, Col. Edmund Schriver, occupied 1 [16] and 2 [15] was scheduled for Chaplain Daniel Kendig.

Above: Southern half of officers' row, built during the Civil War. The large bachelor officers' quarters stands at the far end (not extant). In the right foreground is a portion of the entrance to the parade ground, The Alameda. From right to left are current buildings 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16. View toward the southwest. *National Archives photograph no. 111-SC-87845.*

Below: 1880s photograph of the northern half of officers' row after the buildings were remodeled to face east toward the city. From left to right are current buildings 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, and 4. View to the northwest. *National Archives photograph*



Plan. Barracks/offices, circa 1878. *National Archives, Record Group 92.*

Cottages 3 [14] and 4 [13] each had three rooms and a kitchen on the main floor. Painters had not quite finished with 3, but 4 already had an unnamed occupant.

Quarters 5 [12] had four rooms and a kitchen on the main floor and two finished attic rooms. The chaplain occupied it temporarily.

Building 6 [11], occupied by Holabird himself, had four rooms and a kitchen on the ground floor, four small attic rooms, and a small attic over the kitchen.

Quarters 7 [10] belonged to the division adjutant general, Lt. Col. John C. Kelton, and had five rooms and a kitchen on the main floor, five small attic rooms and a small attic trunk room. This, the largest set on officers' row, had previously been the post commander's residence.

Quarters 8 [9], 9 [8], 10 [7], and 11 [6] were similar to 6 above.

Officers of the garrison now occupied these four.

Quarters 12 [5], formerly a duplex but now remodeled into the new residence for the post commander would be ready for occupancy as soon as the painters had finished.

Wood frame barracks on the west side of the parade ground, between 1878 and 1885. The building at the extreme left is part of the Military Division of the Pacific headquarters. Note chimneys and, to the left, a covered passage leading to a similar building. *National Archives, Signal Corps photograph no. 87852, U.S. Army Signal Corps Collection.*

> A new set of quarters, 13 [4], had been constructed at the north end of the row out of the annexes, kitchens, and outhouses removed from its neighbor 12. It had four "very small" rooms and a kitchen on the main floor and three small attic rooms.

Across the parade ground McDowell selected two adjacent, one-story barracks and their kitchen buildings to be division headquarters. Partitions divided this complex into 21 rooms. Fireproof paint and water barrels on the roofs gave some protection to the wood-frame structures.

The quartermaster also made improvements to other structures in the vicinity of the new headquarters. He placed a new floor and added ventilation to the prison room in the guardhouse. (No one noted, in writing at least, that the prison room was next door to the general's office.) The 1865 two-story barracks that had moved from the southwest corner of the parade in 1875 to the north end of the parade, now moved again. McDowell wanted the grand view of the bay unimpeded and the building, now called "the barracks of the [Light] Battery Company," was shunted westward and placed in line with the rest of the barracks but at right angles to them. The occupants retained their view of the bay; so did the general.

Another significant move involved the post adjutant's office. Formerly adjacent to the guardhouse, it now stood at the south end of the parade ground, between the chapel and the long adobe building. Its former site now became the opening for a new road leading to Fort Point.

Road ("Flagstaff Avenue") across the old parade ground from The Alameda to Division of the Pacific headquarters. A wind fence is on the right. Powder magazine and post flagstaff are to the left. Circa 1880. *U.S. Army Military History Institute.*

Numerous other improvements made their appearance: new floors in the stables, new latrines for the guardhouse and the two batteries of artillery, roads graded and macadamized including the road to Fort Point, a new boiler and pump in the engine house, additional reservoir capacity, and new wind fences "to control the drifting sand and to protect walks and yards from the influence of the never-ceasing sea winds." Probably at this time wind fences were erected on both sides of the new road leading from The Alameda, across the parade ground, to division headquarters. This construction effectively cut the parade ground in two and led to references to the upper and lower parades.

Two of the old laundresses' quarters had been refitted to become gate lodges and moved to the reservation entrances at Lombard Street and Arguello Boulevard. The remaining laundresses' quarters became housing for the Division's General Service† clerks. These, however, housed only a portion of the 20 men and their families. The remainder found quarters wanting. Undoubtedly at General McDowell's insistence, the command planted grass, lupin, and barley seed "to stop the march of the sand dunes...with very considerable success."[4]

Life at a Headquarters Post — the Men

By 1880 the population of the City of San Francisco had climbed to 234,000. The Presidio's population that year amounted to about 275 uniformed persons and an unknown number of women and children. Although only a tiny fraction of the city's masses, the post's daily life mirrored the metropolitan society, layered with a veneer of army regulation. Post Orders in 1880 set forth in detail the daily routine of the garrison:

1st call for reveille	4:50 A.M.
Reveille	5:00
Assembly	5:05
Stable call	5:05
Mess call	5:40
Surgeon's call	6:45
Fatigue† call	7:00
Drill call	7:05
Assembly	7:05 (Sundays excepted)
Recall from drill	8:00
1st call, Guard mount	8:15
Assembly	8:25
Adjutant's call	8:30
Drill call	9:30
Assembly	9:45 (Sundays excepted)
Recall	10:45
Church call	10:45 (Sundays)
1st Sergeants call	11:30
Recall from fatigue	11:50 (Sundays excepted)
Mess call	12:00 noon
Fatigue call	1:00 P.M.
Fire call	2:00 (Saturdays only)
Stable call	4:00
Recall from fatigue	5:00
Recall from fatigue	3:00 (Saturdays)
Mess call	5:30
1st Call, Retreat	10 minutes before sunset
Assembly	Sunset
Retreat	Immediately after roll call
1st Call, Tattoo	8:50
Tattoo	9:00
Assembly	9:05
Extinguish lights	9:15
1st Call Sunday morning inspection	8:00 A.M.
Assembly	8:10

Another order that same year set forth the procedures to be followed in case of fire, that always lurking foe:

> At the fire signal, Light Battery B, 4th Artillery, will form and proceed to take charge of the fire carriages moving at once to the hydrant nearest the fire.
>
> Battery H, 4th Artillery, will proceed to man the ladders and secure the axes.
>
> Battery D, 4th Artillery, will equip itself with fire buckets and proceed to the fire.
>
> Other men will remain in line, all maintaining silence.
>
> The detachment of casuals and recruits will remain paraded in front of their quarters until assigned to duty.
>
> The Commanding Officer of the post will be in charge, assisted by the Officer of the Day and Battery Commanders.[5]

Although bugle calls directed the post's activities from reveille to tattoo, the human story affected the soldiers' lives much the same as in the larger community. In 1879 Michael McBride, a discharged soldier from the Presidio, was found drowned in San Francisco Bay. On another occasion the chaplain received an order to officiate at the funeral of the late Pvt. William Foster of the 4th Artillery. (The post quartermaster had authority to purchase coffins in the city, providing they cost less than $10.) Another officer had the unpleasant task of inventorying the effects of the late William Howe, who committed suicide by jumping overboard from the steamer *McPherson* while en route to the Alcatraz military prison. The report stated that his effects amounted to the clothes he wore and these had not been recovered. Occasionally the smallpox or measles brought death to the garrison. At such times the post surgeon took great care to isolate the disease. Concerning a death from measles, he recommended that children not attend the funeral and that the pallbearers be soldiers who had already had the measles.[6]

The Army recruited only single men in the post-Civil War years and discouraged enlisted men of the lower ranks from marriage on the grounds that they could not provide for families on their low pay. If a private did marry while on active duty, the chances were that he would not be allowed to reenlist. The plight of Pvt. Charles O'Rouke of the 1st Artillery illustrated the perils of married life. He had no fewer than four children and his wife was expecting another. Poor O'Rouke, however, was a prisoner in the guardhouse. Mrs. O'Rouke pleaded for a remission of his sentence.

Depending on the post commander, a sergeant too could find marriage a hindrance to a career. That happened to a Presidio sergeant in 1879. He had performed well as a mechanic on the guns and had been recommended for appointment to ordnance sergeant. His enlistment was running out, but he had married. His commander recommended his discharge, yet wondered if he could keep him on duty for "a few months." Senior noncommissioned officers were another matter; they were allowed to have families on the post. Ordnance Sergeant Charles Lange had a wife and seven children at the Presidio in 1879. The commissary sergeant, Arthur Keusler, had five children, their ages ranging from 3 to 12 years.

The Army did not provide quarters for families of enlisted men. They lived in the laundresses' units or other unoccupied buildings on the reservation. Such an environment sometimes led to discord. There was the time when Pvt. Philip Frenger from the 5th Artillery Band went next door and beat on Sergeant Grimes' residence with a club. An investigation disclosed that the Grimes children had a long history of annoying neighbors and that Mrs. Grimes encouraged them in this behavior. The sergeant was warned that if the trouble continued, the family would have to leave the reservation. A similar complaint involving enlisted families occurred when the children of Private Blum beat incessantly on a drum. He received a similar warning.[7]

Arms, accoutrements, and various supplies often became the subjects of army correspondence. In 1879 a battery commander requested 19 new rifles. Some of his men had none, and when on the rifle range had to share weapons, thus lowering their scores. On one occasion the band ran out of coal for cooking and heating. The post adjutant had to appeal to the division for a solution. In 1883 the commanding officer hit upon an idea for having his soldiers dressed in smart-looking uniforms. He recommended sending a "measure book" that contained accurate measurements for every soldier to a San Francisco clothing factory. The cutters could then supply exact fits and send the uniforms to the Presidio with the soldiers' names attached to each. A post order in 1885 notified the command that the Commissary would sell tobacco, 16 ounces to each man, on the first day of each month only. Presumably one could purchase additional amounts from the post trader.[8]

Both the Presidio and Fort Point received funds annually to pay the salaries of privates assigned to extra duty. In 1879 the Presidio assigned eight soldiers and five civilian women to such duty:

In Quartermaster Department — one carpenter, one teamster, one mail carrier, four laborers

Subsistence Department — one laborer

Post Hospital — two matrons

Battery B, 4th Artillery — three laundresses (technically outlawed in 1878)[9]

During this decade bullets had a way of flying about. On one occasion soldiers practicing skirmish firing hit the Marine Hospital on the southern border of the reservation. At the same range on another day Pvt. John Comfort accidentally wounded Pvt. Ted O'Voigh. Soldiers hunting ducks on the slough in the lower reservation shot up the Harbor View resort. The division commander, Maj. Gen. John Pope, brought a halt to this sport.[10] But garrison life had its happier times. An order came down in 1885 stating that all men who wished to attend the evening performance of "Hartican's Minstrels" were excused from tattoo. That same year the men were allowed to keep lamps and lanterns lit in the barracks for 5 hours in the evening. Two years later the men of the 1st Artillery learned that a dress parade had been canceled on account of the ceremony of the "Escort of the Color" for the new colors being presented to the 1st Artillery. On another occasion a special full-dress parade honored those who had won places on the Division Rifle Team.[11]

San Francisco and all of California experienced a series of woes in the 1870s — drought, depression, bank failure, stock swindle, rioting, and crop failures. As early as January 1878, the division had warned the Presidio that certain unemployed men were threatening to overthrow the city government, threatening Chinese, and imperiling federal property in the area. San Francisco suffered an influx of unemployed workers who became riotous under a firebrand named Dennis Kearney, who preached violent revolution and blamed the Chinese population for the city's troubles. Gangs preyed on the Chinese, inflicting injury and even death. In July the post commander reported that the body of a Chinese man suspended from a tree by a hay rope had been found on the reservation. Two years later, in March 1880, the War Department alerted General McDowell that San Francisco's Chinese were threatened with violence, "I advise you to collect your force so as to have...a Battery of Light Artillery and a Battalion of about four hundred and fifty muskets. The Presidio and Angel Island are good points of concentration." By April the Presidio's garrison had tripled. Infantry, artillery, and cavalry troops stood guard.[12]

The Officers

During the nine years the Military Division of the Pacific maintained its headquarters at the Presidio of San Francisco four general officers served as its commander: Maj. Gen. Irvin McDowell from 1876 to 1882; Maj. Gen. John Schofield from 1882 to 1883; Maj. Gen. John Pope from 1883 to 1886; and Maj. Gen. Oliver Otis Howard from 1886 to 1888.

Irvin McDowell (1818–1885) served in the Mexican War (Buena Vista) and the Civil War (Bull Run [Manassas] I and II). He was born in Ohio and educated in France. McDowell graduated from West Point in 1838 and accepted a commission as an artillery officer. He became an aide-de-camp† to Brig. Gen. John E. Wool in 1845. Major McDowell traveled to Europe in 1856 to study military organization. A brigadier general of volunteers in 1861, he met with disaster at both battles of Bull Run in 1861 and 1862. The Army relieved him from further combat during the Civil War and transferred him to San Francisco, where he arrived in 1864 to command the Department of the Pacific. McDowell became a Regular Army major general in 1872 and took command of the Department of the South. From 1876 to 1882 General McDowell led the Military Division of the Pacific, maintaining his residence at Fort Mason and his headquarters at the Presidio. He retired at San Francisco in October 1882 and died in California on May 4, 1885. His remains rest in the San Francisco National Cemetery at the Presidio. The small regulation grave marker misspelled his first name as "Erwin," leading subsequent generations to err.

McDowell has been described as "a capable soldier with a sound grasp of strategy and considerable skill at organization;" he was also "gluttonous, aloof, inattentive, and difficult to get along with." His defeat at the first Bull Run was less his fault than that of the green officers and men who executed his plan.

John McAllister Schofield (1831–1906), born in New York State, graduated from West Point in 1853; Schofield had a distinguished reputation in battle during the Civil War — Wilson's Creek 1861; Kennesaw Mountain, Atlanta, and Nashville in 1864; and in North Carolina in 1865. He received a Medal of Honor† for his conduct at Wilson's Creek. In 1865 he represented the U.S. State Department in France with the mission of informing Napoleon III of the United States's opposition to Maximilian in Mexico. He served as secretary of war ad interim during the trying time of President Andrew Johnson's impeachment. From 1870 to 1876 he commanded the Division of the Pacific, with his office in San Francisco. Then in 1882 he returned to California, this time with his headquarters at the Presidio.

In 1888 Schofield succeeded General Sheridan as commanding general of the Army. He retired in 1895 and died at St. Augustine, Florida, on March 4, 1906. During the time he commanded the Army he did much to settle old feuds between the office of the secretary of war and the general staff. In retirement he continued to urge army reform. Described as "a thoroughly professional — indeed brilliant — corps commander in combat, Schofield's management and administrative gifts defined his career. Some considered him the finest peacetime commander in chief in U.S. Army history." Physically, his bald head, mutton-chop whiskers, round body, and short stature created a memorable image.

John Pope (1822–1892) was born in Kentucky. He graduated from West Point in 1842 and accepted a commission as a topographic engineer. He served as an army surveyor in Florida, Minnesota, New Mexico, and for a Pacific railroad route. Pope fought in Mexico with Zachary Taylor's army, then in the Civil War with the rank of major general of volunteers. His forces were defeated at the Second Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) and Pope was sent to the Department of the Northwest for the remainder of the war. Following the war, he commanded several departments before going to California in 1883. He commanded both the Department of California and the Division of the Pacific from 1883 to 1886, when he retired. The general died on September 23, 1892, at Sandusky, Ohio. He has been described as "a good administrator whose organizational talents were superior to his tactical† skills." Despite an abrasive and arrogant personality, Pope served ably in his western assignments.

Oliver Otis Howard (1830–1909) was born in Maine. He graduated from West Point in 1854 and received a commission in Ordnance. His Civil War experiences were extensive: Bull Run, Fair Oaks, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, and Atlanta. He lost his right arm at Fair Oaks on June 1, 1862, and received the Medal of Honor for that battle many years later. Following the war Howard headed the Freedman's Bureau from 1865 to 1872. During that time he founded Howard University at Washington, D.C. In 1872 President Ulysses S. Grant sent Howard to Arizona territory to negotiate with Cochise, leader of the Chiricahua Apaches. Howard, unescorted, dared to enter Cochise's stronghold in the Dragoon Mountains. He successfully negotiated an agreement with the Apache leader, thus ending 12 years of Cochise wars. Having gained the nickname "Christian General," Howard returned to active duty as commander of the Department of the Columbia in 1874. He led in the campaign against Idaho's Nez Perce Indians in 1877, wherein the Indians named him "General Day after Tomorrow," for his failure to halt their flight toward Canada. Promoted to major general in 1886, Howard became commanding general of the Division of the Pacific for

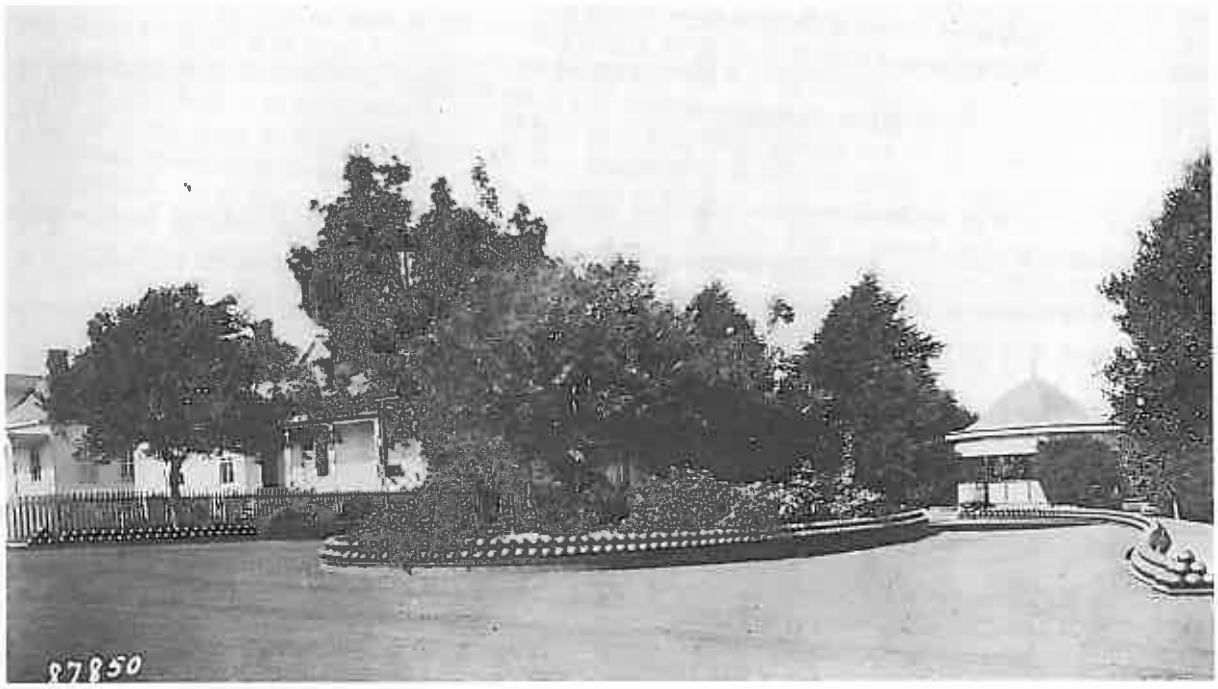
a two-year stint. He occupied the general's residence at Fort Mason where the McDowells had entertained him and Mrs. Howard a few years earlier. Howard retired in 1894 and died on April 26, 1909, at Burlington, Vermont.[13]

When the decision came down to move the division headquarters to the Presidio, the post commander, William H. French, colonel of the 4th Artillery Regiment, moved his headquarters to Angel Island. He returned to the Presidio briefly in the spring of 1880. At that time he announced that after 43 years of active service, "I hereby relinquish command of this regiment." No doubt, a full-dress parade and review were held in his honor.[14]

Col. Emory Upton, one of the nineteenth century's most brilliant soldiers, succeeded French as commander of the 4th Artillery and of the Presidio. The Presidio had carried Upton on the post returns for some time, showing him to have been on detached service at the Artillery's think tank at Fort Monroe, Virginia. Based on his infantry experiences in the Civil War, Upton published *New System of Infantry Tactics* in 1867, which brought him international attention. General Sherman appointed him commandant of cadets and instructor of tactics at the U.S. Military Academy, then to a three-man commission to examine military organization in Europe and Asia. Upton published *The Armies of Europe and Asia* in 1878. In it he argued for the reform of the U.S. Army such that it would be a strictly professional body with volunteers filling out a skeletal organization under regular officers in time of war, instead of forming a separate army as had been done in the Civil War.[15]

As early as the spring of 1880, Upton began to develop violent headaches and sought medical assistance. From time to time his thoughts became confused. The prospects of transferring to the west coast left him uneasy because he did not want to lose his doctor, who later conjectured that the colonel suffered from a brain tumor. But orders were orders.

Soon after his arrival at the Presidio, widower Upton wrote a letter describing his new surroundings, "I shall furnish one room with a carpet for parlor, and sleep in the one in rear, off which is a bath." Under ordinary circumstances the regimental colonel could expect to reside in the quarters set aside for the post commander, in this case quarters 12 at the north end of the line [5]. But these were not ordinary times at the Presidio. The division staff officers had taken over much of officers' row, including the remodeled bachelor officers quarters. Upton's description of two rooms suggests, at least, that he occupied a set of officer's quarters in the bachelor officers quarters. He soon learned that while he commanded a regiment, his duties



An excellent view of The Alameda and bandstand at the entrance to the Presidio parade ground. Officers' quarters, today's 11 and 12, stand to the left. Note the decorative cannon balls. View toward the west. *National Archives photograph.*

as post commander were severely limited. General McDowell in his nearby office supervised every post expense over $5.00. He also directed all new construction, even selecting paint colors.[16]

Nevertheless, Upton found the Presidio to be a delightful place:

> This evening General Tannatt and myself took a four-mile walk. The road lies wholly in the Reservation and winds around the hills, one moment commanding a view of the bay, and the next looking off on the Grand Pacific. At the Golden Gate we came upon Fort Point, a brick castle with four tiers of guns. The hill back of it is twice its height, and is connected with it by a bridge which abuts against the parapet. So we descended into the fort as they entered houses in the time of the Saviour, by going through the roof.[17]

Because of the short time Upton remained at the Presidio, little correspondence has been found bearing his signature. In one letter, dated January 3, 1881, he requested two new clocks for headquarters. Vandals had tampered with the existing clocks and the bugle calls were not on schedule — most upsetting to an army post.[18]

Capt. Henry C. Hasbrouck of the 4th Artillery, stationed at the Presidio at this time, also had been a classmate of Upton's at West Point. From his pen came a description of the colonel's last days. Sometime in February Upton complained to Hasbrouck that he was having great difficulty revising his book on infantry tactics. When Hasbrouck asked Upton early in March about his health, the colonel replied that the pain in his head was increasing and he doubted he would ever be cured. On Sunday morning, March 13, Hasbrouck again visited Upton who broke down, "he placed his hands to his head, and his eyes suffused with tears, and he said he was ruined — he spoke of the failure of his revision." Hasbrouck urged Upton to take a vacation to no avail. That Sunday evening Upton said that he had lost his will and that his officers no longer respected him. Hasbrouck recorded, on Monday, March 14, "This morning about 8 A.M. his servant ran over to my house with the report that the General had shot himself. I ran to his room and found him lying on his bed with a pistol in his right hand." On reporting the death the post adjutant wrote, "I am satisfied that his reason was unseated at the time he committed the fatal act." Before he shot himself, Col. Emory Upton wrote out his resignation from the U.S. Army.

Hasbrouck wrote the colonel's sister that the remains had been embalmed and a guard of honor had been posted. Many flowers had arrived from the "ladies of the Army" and from friends in San Francisco. Later, the body was sent to Auburn, New York.[19]

Upton's influence on army reform continued long after his death. He had left an unfinished manuscript, "The Military Policy of the United States from 1775." It called for the United States to adopt a professional, expansible army, as well as the establishment of military schools and a general staff corps, these last to be based on successful German models. The manuscript circulated among army officers through the years until Elihu Root became secretary of war in 1899. Root enthusiastically read the manuscript. While he could not agree with all of it he accepted such proposals as the three-battalion regiment, abolition of the rigid seniority system of promotion, and establishment of a general staff. Root had Upton's work published in 1904, writing an appreciative introduction for it. Professor Russell Weigley has written of *Military Policy*, "no comparable American military history existed or was to exist for decades, and as history his book contained a wealth of information. Thus for many years...[it was] the standard work in the field."[20]

The Presidio also had better days. *The Army and Navy Journal* published a "Programme of Entertainment at Fort Point" in the summer of 1880. The day-long affair began with target

practice with the big 15-inch coastal guns. Keeping up the noise the soldiers then turned to the mortar and siege batteries. Lunch consisted of a basket picnic at "Camp McDowell", a temporary collection of tents. An onlooker would probably have noticed that the officers, their families, and friends enjoyed this event. The troops appeared again in the early afternoon in a review and dress parade. The brass whiled away the rest of the afternoon at an informal "hop" within the old fort.[21]

In contrast to isolated frontier posts, Presidio officers and their ladies enjoyed an elegant social life when the duties of the day allowed, both on post and in the city. Dances, theater, dinners, receptions for visiting dignitaries, engagements, and weddings marked the calendar. Newspapers duly recorded these events, especially when the socially prominent were involved, whether within the Army or without. Capt. Stephen Jocelyn, on Christmas leave in 1880, visited San Francisco and the Presidio. At the post he escorted the surgeon's daughter, "handsome Miss Minnie in a French toilet[te]," to a party. Later she married another officer, the wedding taking place in the Presidio chapel. Jocelyn must have saved the newspaper account:

> The ceiling and sides of the chapel were completely hidden from view, being covered with bright, new American flags, most artistically arranged. The pillars supporting the roof were twined with garlands of cypress and laurel leaves while potted plants were arranged in a circle around the central column. At the rear was the chancel, made brilliant with glistening candelabra....Beautiful baskets filled with the choicest of flowers were placed here and there....The rear of the chancel was entirely banked with emerald-hued foliage, studded with calla lilies....Rich rugs adorned the floor, and a stretch of canvas reached from the entrance to the altar.

Capt. and Mrs. W. A. Thompson departed for his station, Fort Bowie, Arizona.[22]

The post treasurer managed the library, which in addition to books, contained a variety of subscriptions for its patrons who came from all parts of the United States:

United Service Magazine
Harpers Weekly
New York Ledger Weekly
Washington Sunday Herald
Detroit Free Press
Scientific American
New York Herald (daily)
Puck
Irish World
The Century
American Builder (New York)
The Workshop
Army and Navy Register
London Illustrated News

San Francisco Examiner
San Francisco Chronicle
Atlantic Monthly
Nachrichten aus Deutchland und der Schweig[23]
New York Graphic
Army and Navy Journal
Saint Louis Globe Democrat

In 1882 the *Daily Alta California* announced that the splendid 4th Artillery Band of 24 pieces would present a public concert at the Presidio's "Seaside Gardens." Music by Strauss and many others would be played. During the intermissions Punch and Judy performances would take the stage. Admission was 10¢.[24]

The kinds of problems Upton had faced in his relations with McDowell cropped up again in 1882 among their successors. It began when post trader Beretta complained that his monopoly on the reservation was being violated by unauthorized salespersons coming on the premises. The new post commander, Lt. Col. George P. Andrews of the 4th Artillery, responded at length, thus shedding more light on the problems arising when division officers worked and lived on the reserve. Andrews explained that the "Post of Presidio" and the "Presidio Reservation" were not then one and the same. He as post commander had no authority over the division staff quarters and offices, the areas used by the depot quartermaster, nor the Fort Point area (today called Fort Winfield Scott). All those sites came under other jurisdictions and the commanding general could establish regulations as he saw fit regarding public access.[25]

Most officer families retained servants in that era. The records give only a glimpse of these people who often came from San Francisco's Chinese community. Post Surg. John Brooke reported in 1886 that two soldiers had attacked and beaten his Chinese servant on the reservation. Another officer wrote that the small house at the rear of his quarters, occupied by his Chinese servant, badly needed repairs to make it fit for occupation. On another occasion the adjutant notified a lieutenant's family that if their "nurse-girl" continued to resist a vaccination, she would be banished from the reservation.[26]

Rarely did references to the post's children appear. When Colonel Andrews had a census taken in 1883, he learned that the post families had 34 children over five years of age. Those of school age attended a city school a block from the main gate. These parents considered it to be an excellent school and much preferred it over a post school. In 1886 the Presidio hosted

Children at play in the front yards of officers' quarters on Funston Avenue. The gateway entrance arch marks the intersection of Funston Avenue with today's Presidio Boulevard. Alcatraz Island is visible in the bay. The post of San Jose (Fort Mason) lies on the promontory to the right. Circa 1880 view toward the northeast from near the south end of officers' row. *California Section, California State Library.*

Miss Sarah B. Cooper and her 600 kindergartners at a picnic, which must have resulted in pleasant excitement as well as confusion for all.[27]

Distinguished citizens visited the Bay Area during this decade, including former President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant in 1879 and President and Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes in 1880. General McDowell held grand receptions for both parties at his Fort Mason residence, but the Presidio's records remained silent concerning the visits. It is likely that both parties received 21-gun salutes from Fort Point's guns as their steamers passed by. The Grants left San Francisco on board steamer *St. Paul*, while the Hayes party toured the bay on army steamer *McPherson*, landing at Alcatraz and Angel islands.[28]

When General Grant died a few years later, the Presidio garrison observed the solemn event. Post orders directed the day's ceremonies. The troops paraded and heard the proclamation announcing the death. All labor ceased for the reminder of the day. At dawn the artillery fired 13 guns and afterward a single gun fired every half hour from sunrise to sunset. At the close

of day there came a national salute of 38 guns. Two years later the death of former President Chester A. Arthur was observed with similar ceremonies. Officers received orders to wear crepe on their left arms and on their swords for six months.[29]

Another distinguished visitor to San Francisco may not have visited the Presidio. His Imperial Highness Prince Komatsu of Japan did have the services of a Presidio officer, Lt. Gilbert P. Cotton of the 1st Artillery, who became an aide-de-camp during the prince's visit. In November 1887 the division commander, Maj. Gen. O. O. Howard, unexpectedly brought a visiting foreign admiral (otherwise unidentified) out to the reservation. An aide had to hurry ahead to arrange for the firing of an admiral's salute.[30]

The Division of the Pacific's last year at the Presidio, 1887, witnessed times of gaiety and times of sorrow among the officers of the post. In January, "The officers and ladies at the Presidio gave a delightful hop last Tuesday evening, in the hop room at the Post, which was handsomely decorated in honor of the occasion....Dancing was enjoyed until midnight, to the excellent music provided by the 1st Artillery Band, and light refreshments were served during the evening."[31]

A few months later the remains of Col. George Pearce Andrews, Retired, were laid to rest in the national cemetery. Colonel Andrews had served at the Presidio years before as a young artillery officer. Later, on the death of Colonel Upton in 1881, Andrews had taken command of the garrison and remained in charge until his retirement in San Francisco in 1885. On July 3, the private funeral services were held in the Andrews residence, followed by the interment. All officers and enlisted men were invited to attend at the cemetery.[32]

The Animals

Like most communities the Presidio housed a variety of animals including horses, mules, cattle, dogs, and chickens. Of these, horses received the most attention, if only because they were government property. Besides privately owned horses, about which little was said, there were animals belonging to the light artillery and occasional cavalry unit. In 1880 the officer in charge of the cavalry detachment then present requested permission to graze the horses on the reservation. The post commander regretfully informed him that he could not grant such authority as he had none to give. The division now controlled that matter. On a later occasion, the poor horses did not have enough to eat. The appropriation for forage also pur-

chased public stores. The laundresses used that appropriation for food purchases, thus short-changing the animals. The *Alta California* reported that the women would have to use their own funds in the future in order "to keep alive the animals which the despicable parsimony of Congress has cut far short of the proper allowance."[33]

The post quartermaster took a census of the horses in 1885 finding that during the past year the Presidio had received 45 new horses, transferred 18, and 11 had died. The number on hand came to 168. As for mules, two new ones brought the total to five. Injuries to horses, always heartbreaking, sometimes resulted in death. That happened in one case when one horse kicked another, breaking its leg; a board of officers recommended that the injured animal be killed without delay. Horses sometimes hurt soldiers, such as when cavalry Sgt. Edward King's horse fell on him. King was totally disabled and discharged with a certificate of disability.

In 1885 the quartermaster sought authority to hire a painter to put the names of the horses and their riders over the stalls of Troop K, 2d Cavalry. General Pope refused the request, saying that quartermaster employees could do this when they had nothing better to do.[34]

Cattle on the reservation continued to be a subject of paperwork. The hospital's cow still contributed milk for the patients' benefit. In 1885 Private Carter of the 1st Artillery submitted a letter to the adjutant to keep his cow on the reserve. In another case, Private McAuliffe received an order to get rid of four heifers. His company commander came to his aid, writing that McAuliffe was old and crippled, he had only 11 months to go before his discharge, and depended on the cattle to support him when a civilian. At the same time that McAuliffe's livelihood was threatened the War Department granted a civilian, Cornelius Keating, permission to establish a dairy on the Presidio reservation.[35]

Rare is the army that has no dogs, and the Presidio upheld the tradition. The adjutant periodically posted fresh orders regulating their behavior. Typical orders published in 1887 stated that dogs would not be allowed unless they had licenses issued by headquarters. Furthermore, dogs had to be kept off the parade ground while troops paraded. Chickens found themselves confined even more: "they must be kept within the limits of the fenced in portion of the grounds connected with the quarters of the parties owning them."[36]

Military Affairs

When the Division of the Pacific first arrived on the Presidio reservation, post strength had been reduced to two batteries of artillery. As the months slipped by this strength gradually increased until 1887, the end of the division's sojourn, when the garrison totalled 30 officers and 400 men, including artillery, infantry, and cavalry. The separate garrison over at Fort Point remained fairly steady throughout the period, having around 8 officers and less than 100 enlisted men.[37]

The Indian Wars of the 1880s provided the Presidio troops with little excitement. Other than two minor forays into Arizona Territory during the Apache campaigns, wherein the Presidio soldiers guarded supply trains and provided other support activities, the garrison now trained in harbor defense and in defensive tactics. The *Alta California* complained in 1884 that the filling in of the big ravine west of the main post had thoroughly disrupted the drills of the light artillery and the cavalry, "instead of the gallop of a battery, or a troop or battalion of cavalry, from one end of the [drill area] to the other...we have now the quiet execution of movements that require less room." The reporter observed, "The Light Battery is drilling again, and seems in its usual efficient condition. The two troops of the 2d Cavalry are receiving a good deal of elementary drill, both mounted and dismounted."[38]

In 1887 the post commander, Lt. Col. Alexander Piper of the 1st Artillery, issued detailed orders setting forth training exercises for the month of May. The Light (i.e., mounted) Battery K, 1st Artillery, practiced the School of the Battery three days a week and dismounted drill on the other two. The remainder of the garrison practiced with rifles and carbines at known distances on the range, each outfit, for three mornings a week. Maj. Frank Bennet directed the training of the two cavalry troops in their tactics. The dismounted artillery batteries practiced with 8-inch and 10-inch mortars, and gun drills with 3-inch pieces. Junior artillery officers received instructions on the operation of the plane table. That fall the three foot batteries marched to Fort Point and practiced on the 15-inch guns (shells fitted with bursting charges and with time fuzes, powder charges limited to 50 pounds). Again, junior officers learned about plane tables and operations at plotting stations.[39]

The Department of California Rifle Team created intense competition among the better marksmen. Open to all ranks, the annual competition for a place on the team took pace at the Presidio. Capt. Stephen P. Jocelyn, stationed at Fort Townsend in Washington Territory, was considered the best shot in the U.S. Army. In 1883 he arrived at the Presidio where he spent

nearly a month shooting and supervising rifle practice in the mornings. He was free from military obligations in the afternoons, and he spent them visiting San Francisco in his role as a director of the First National Bank of Vancouver, Washington, since most of its business took place in the city. Because the Presidio lacked quarters for visiting officers, Jocelyn stayed at the Occidental Hotel, "practically an army installation." In 1887 the Presidio hosted contestants for the team from no fewer than 17 installations in the department.[40]

Light Battery K, 1st Artillery, undertook a march in the spring of 1884 that, in addition to honing its military skills, ended at "Camp Stoneman" in magnificent Yosemite Valley. The soldiers could not have known that they were the innocent forerunners of army troops who would manage and protect the future national park.[41]

When he commanded the post, Col. George Andrews, irked at a department inquiry into the Presidio's two-horse spring wagon being used for private purposes, dashed off a stinging response. He understood that he regulated the use of the wagon and it was his responsibility to decide to what uses it was put. There was no need for others to concern themselves as to the propriety of those uses. For the record, however, the wagon carried officers, officials of other nations, U.S. Senators, school children, sick soldiers, drunken soldiers, visitors, chaplains, mourners, coffins, prisoners, guards, insane persons, messengers, and was used in any other way he deemed proper.[42]

As it had so many times in the past, the Presidio participated in the civilian communities' activities when appropriate. In 1886 several of the Bay Area's army posts contributed troops for a parade in San Francisco sponsored by the Grand Army of the Republic. Col. William (Pecos Bill) Shafter from Angel Island led the army units that included five companies from the Presidio. On May 30, 1887, Presidio troops marched to the national cemetery. Following prayers by Chaplain Kendig, the soldiers decorated the graves. That fall the Presidio allowed the 1st Artillery Band to play at the Palace Hotel, then the largest hotel in the United States. Also, some enlisted men had permission to be at the hotel, in uniform, in the evenings. The correspondence did not disclose the purpose of their presence.[43]

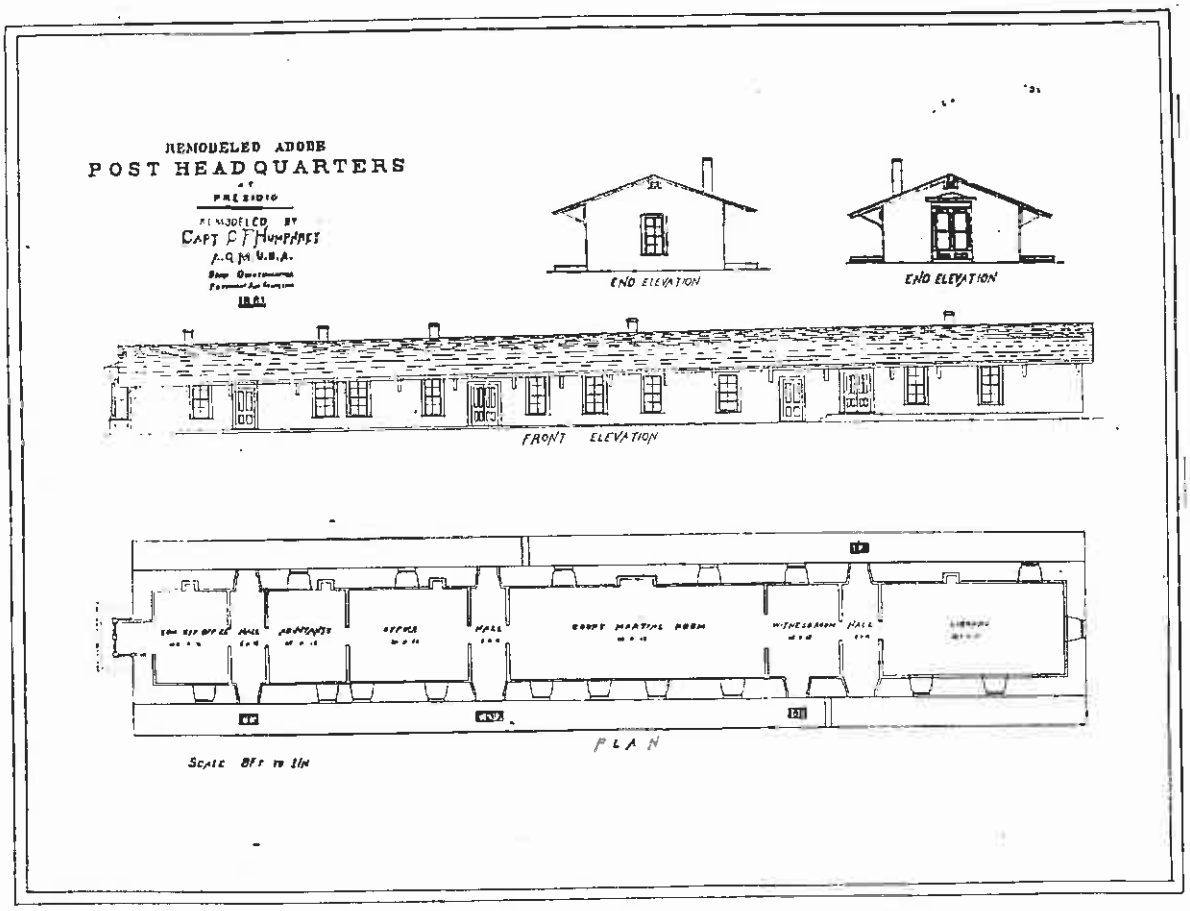
New Buildings and Old, 1878–1884

The tug-of-war between the post commander and the division staff over control of the reservation and its buildings continued on into the 1880s. The division quartermaster, Lt. Col.

Main post of the Presidio from the south, circa early 1880s. Note the adobe (now officers' club, 50) in the foreground. It does not yet have the center assembly hall addition. A water reservoir is in foreground. Note the complex of buildings outside the reservation in the distance. View toward the north. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Samuel Holabird, had asked Washington that the quarters he occupied (No. 6 [11]) be permanently assigned to him and successive quartermasters. Washington responded: "The Comdg General Division of the Pacific may set aside one or more sets of quarters for his Division Staff, subject to assignment by the Commanding Officer of the Post." That did not settle the matter. Confusion and argument followed when dividing appropriations for repairs and like matters. The War Department then established two separate installations — a headquarters post and a military post, "then the two, though adjoining, will be, in regulation and law, as distinct as if they were on different sides of the Golden Gate." This decision deprived the post commander of authority over most of the reservation for the decade of the 1880s. Maj. L. L. Livingston of the 4th Artillery, who commanded the post briefly in 1880, noted: "There are about 38 other buildings at the post, great and small, occupied and controlled exclusively by the Headquarters, Military Division of the Pacific and the Department of California."[44]

Of all the adobe buildings inherited from the Mexican period, the Presidio had but three now, all at the southwest corner of the parade ground: the long adobe on the south end and measuring 29 feet by 160 feet with several additions on the south side, and two officers' quarters



Plan and elevations. Post headquarters, 1881. *National Archives, Record Group 92.*

that had been created out of the long adobe on the west side of the parade. One of these had been converted into a duplex, 28 feet by 90 feet; the other, a single set 20 feet by 23 feet.

The south adobe had served as officers' quarters in the early American days then, in the 1870s, as quarters for laundresses and married enlisted men. More recently the Army had remodeled it into a substantial post headquarters building. Three halls divided the interior into the commanding officer and the adjutant's offices at the east end, an imposing court martial room in the center, and a witness room and a library at the west end. A reporter from the *Alta California* inspected the building in 1885, just before it underwent further remodeling, "The largest and most important [adobe] building contains a long hall which is called the Court-martial room, and with its finish of solid wood resembles an old feudal hall." He thought that the redwood ceiling timbers had been inherited from the Spanish period. More likely, they dated from the early American period when the Army installed a sawmill in Marin County:

> The redwood timbers...were found to be in a state of excellent preservation, the rich natural tone of the wood having deepened and improved with age. The outside was planed off and a high polish given to the wood, and they were placed as rafters across the ceiling. The walls of the building are between three and four feet in thickness, and quite put to shame many of the more flimsy structures of the day.[45]

Although various building reports referred to the adobes as dilapidated, those who occupied them thought otherwise. One officer described his adobe residence as having electric bells,[46] large closets, and spacious rooms, "It was considered the best set at the post, embowered as it was in vines and flowers to the roof." This stood in contrast to the cottage on officers' row [5 through 16] that a major on the division staff called home:

> All the quarters the same as mine were put up hurriedly in 1862, or thereabouts, for temporary use....The walls consist of two thicknesses of plank *not* tongued and grooved. The planks have been painted but at the seams the paint has cracked and lets the wind in quite freely...we must have huge fires the year round. [In the past six months] there has been consumed in my quarters 11 tons of coal.[47]

A serious problem had become most evident at the Corral by 1880. Ground water had collected and stagnated under the building, raising such an obnoxious odor throughout the ground floor that windows had to be kept open day and night. Associated with the odor or not, an estimate of $575 appeared for repairing the Corral's mess room, and by 1883 the entire building had been raised up from the ground.[48]

In 1883 the arrival and departure of troop units and their officers resulted once again in an exercise that army wives dreaded — the choosing of quarters according to rank. Battery L, 1st Artillery, departed; and Battery H, 1st Artillery, and Troop I, 1st Cavalry, arrived. The new officers had the prerogative of "bumping" any officers junior in rank and choosing any of their quarters that suited them. The bumped officers could do the same to their juniors. Although there were some restrictions to this practice, it was a time of dread as officers scrutinized the dates of rank. The situation in October 1883:

Quarters	Present Occupant	Person Choosing
3 [14]	Major Randol	Captain Sanger
4 [13]	Captain McCrea	Captain McCrea
6 [11]	Major Weeks	Major Sanford
13 [4]	Captain Harris	Captain Harris
16 (adobe)	Captain Sanger	Captain Haskin

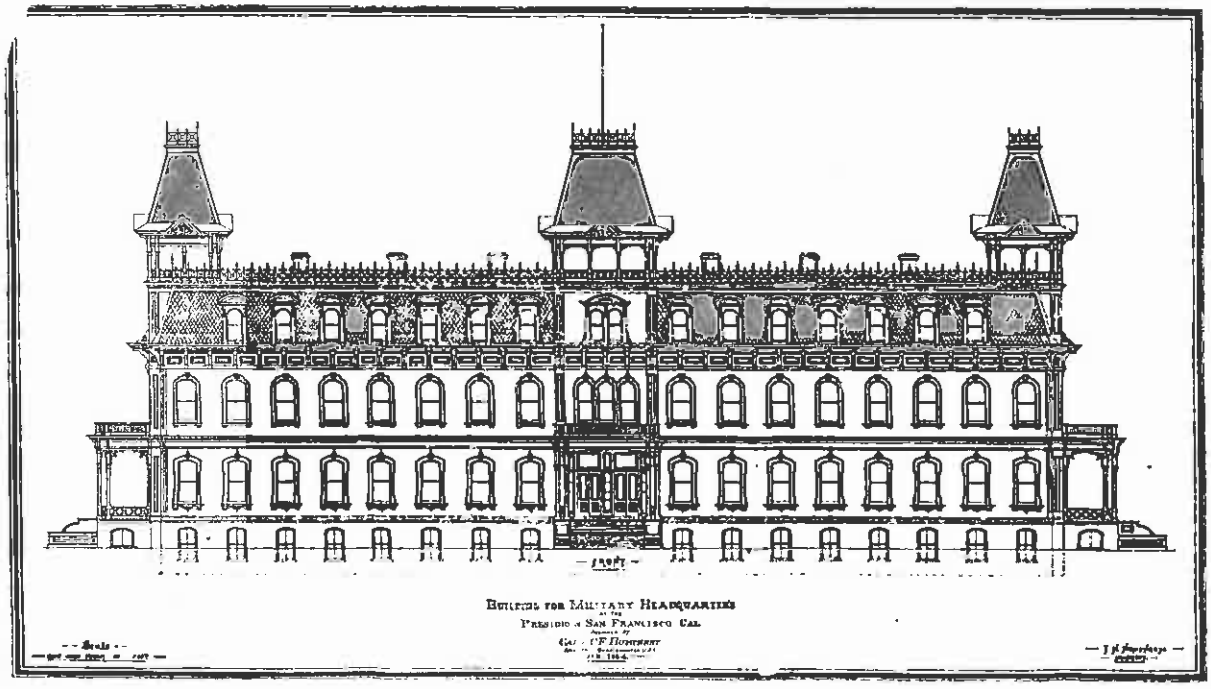
Goat Island Cottage	vacant	Lieutenant Russell
14 Adjutant's Office	vacant	Lieutenant Davis[49]

By late 1883 the number of officers assigned to the post alone had climbed to 20. The shortage of quarters had become crucial. Maj. Gen. John Pope set forth four possible solutions: 1) Use the unoccupied quarters at Fort Point. 2) Rent quarters in San Francisco. 3) Reduce the space assigned to officers. 4) Reduce the size of the garrison. While Fort Point was not reactivated as a separate post, Battery C, 1st Artillery, moved there.[50]

Another structure of interest at this time concerned a separate building, a duplex, for the families of two noncommissioned officers, the first notice of separate housing for this important group — other than married personnel living in former laundresses' quarters. This humble set of quarters (two rooms in each half) stood to the south of laundresses' row and apart from it.[51]

General Pope, dissatisfied with the conditions found at the Presidio for his offices and the lack of suitable quarters for his staff officers, prepared a lengthy letter to the War Department outlining his proposals for the Presidio and for a permanent headquarters for the Division of the Pacific. He noted that the Army then maintained garrisons at the Presidio, Fort Point, Angel Island, Alcatraz island, Fort Mason, and Benicia Barracks. Each of these required administrative machinery nearly as large as would be needed at one concentrated location. Other than a prison guard on Alcatraz, he recommended the gradual transfer of the garrisons (including their buildings) from the posts to the Presidio reservation where they would become a 12-company post. The result would be economical as well as an increase in efficiency and discipline. Also, the headquarters of the Army on the Pacific coast should have permanent buildings for its offices and quarters. The present offices at the Presidio (in the Civil War barracks) were insufficient in both proportions and character and not suited for officers of high rank. The division buildings and the post structures were also mixed up and in the middle of troop activities.

Pope had his staff prepare elaborate plans for a headquarters building and for quarters for both field grade and company grade officers' quarters. Accompanying the drawings, pages of materials required for the construction listed everything from lumber, to nails, to bathtubs, to stained glass, and on and on. His cost estimates were:



Proposed headquarters building for the Military Division of the Pacific. The Quartermaster Department prepared this plan. The building was to be erected at the Presidio, but the Congress failed to pass the necessary appropriations, 1884. *U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 130, 48th Congress, First Session, March 1884.*

One building for military headquarters	$65,520
9 sets of field officers' quarters	117,301
4 sets of captains' quarters	48,049
Total	$230,870 [52]

The field officers' quarters, he said, were needed for the assistant adjutant general, assistant inspector general, judge advocate, chief quartermaster, chief commissary of subsistence, medical director, chief paymaster, engineer officer, and ordnance officer. The captains' quarters would house the assistant quartermaster and three aides-de-camp.

Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, then commanding the U.S. Army, agreed to increasing the Presidio's strength and he recommended asking Congress for funds to build the headquarters and the quarters, but he did not approve the abandonment of Angel, Alcatraz, and Yerba Buena islands, "the inner line of defense," nor of Benicia Barracks, the guardian of the arsenal. Secretary of War Robert Lincoln approved Sheridan's estimates and President Chester Arthur sent them to the Congress. Division Quartermaster C. F. Humphrey had drawings prepared depicting an elaborate, three-story wood-frame headquarters building featuring nine

large towers and Second Empire architecture. All was for naught — Congress did not approve. But the concept lived on; in time it would arise again.[53]

The Humphrey Report, 1884

When the time came in 1884 to prepare the annual report on the Presidio buildings, the post quartermaster may have helped to gather the data, but Capt. Charles F. Humphrey, the depot quartermaster signed the report. It turned out to be a massive document, and it incorporated a building numbering system that lasted for many years. The report gave the first description of the new post headquarters in the ancient adobe and it described the two barracks that had been converted to two stories.

The first number before each structure was the number that Captain Humphrey assigned. The following number in brackets was the Army's number as assigned in 1994, where appropriate. The first 13 buildings were the Civil War quarters on the east side of the parade.

1. Officer's quarters [16], 1 1/2 story, wood frame structure, 31 feet by 52 feet
   First floor: parlor, sitting room, dining room, bedroom, hall, pantry
   Attic: four rooms
   Ell: 1 1/2 story, 12 feet by 31 feet
   First floor: kitchen, washroom, and buttery
   Attic: two rooms, 14 feet by 15 feet and 10 feet by 12 feet
   Addition: 1 story, 9 feet by 11 feet — bathroom and water closet
   Outbuilding: 10 feet by 16 feet — wood and coal shed

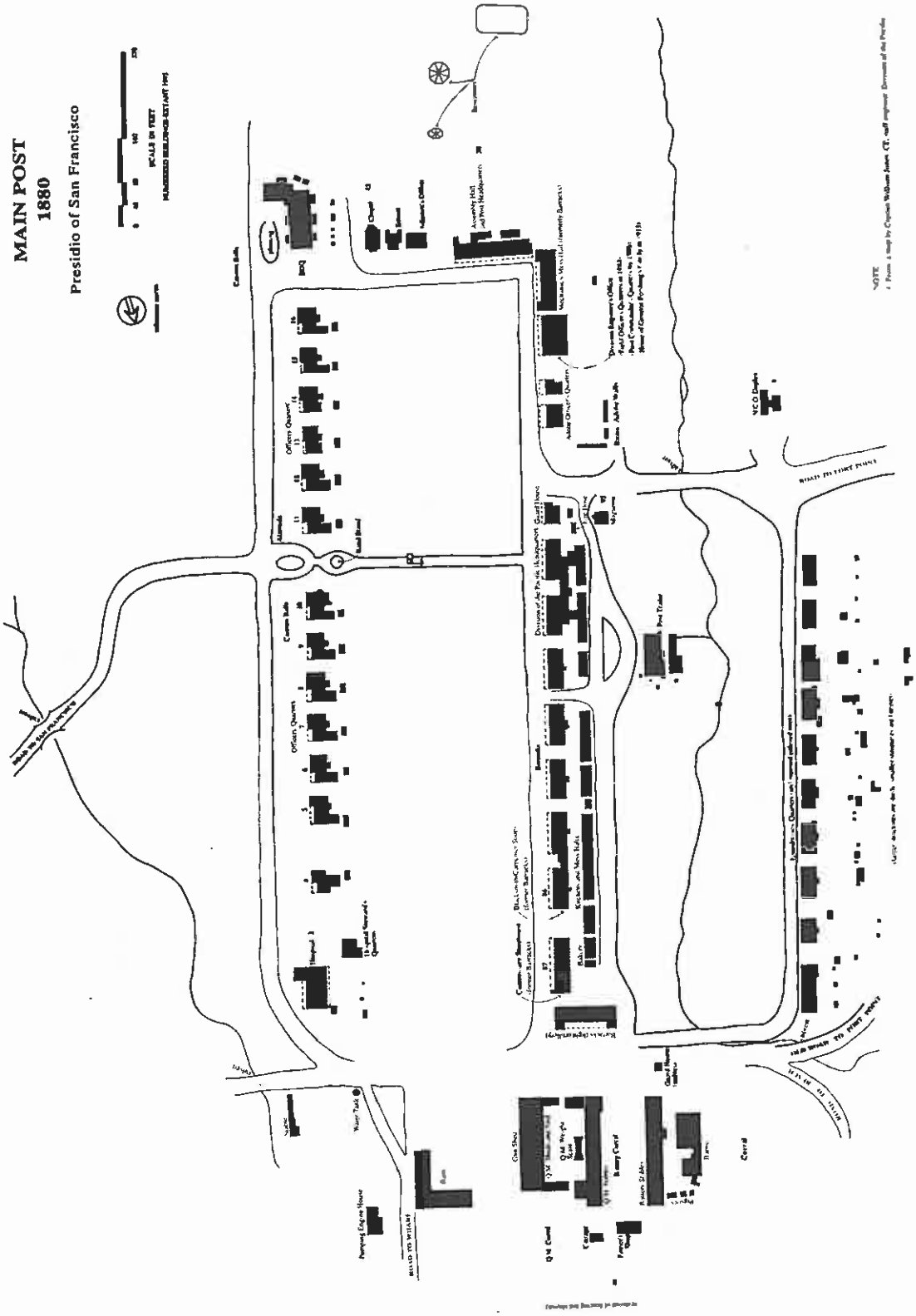
2. Officer's quarters [15], identical to 1, except
   Ell: 1 story, 12 feet by 31 feet

3. Officer's quarters [14], identical to 1, except
   Ell: 1 story, 8 1/2 feet by 16 feet

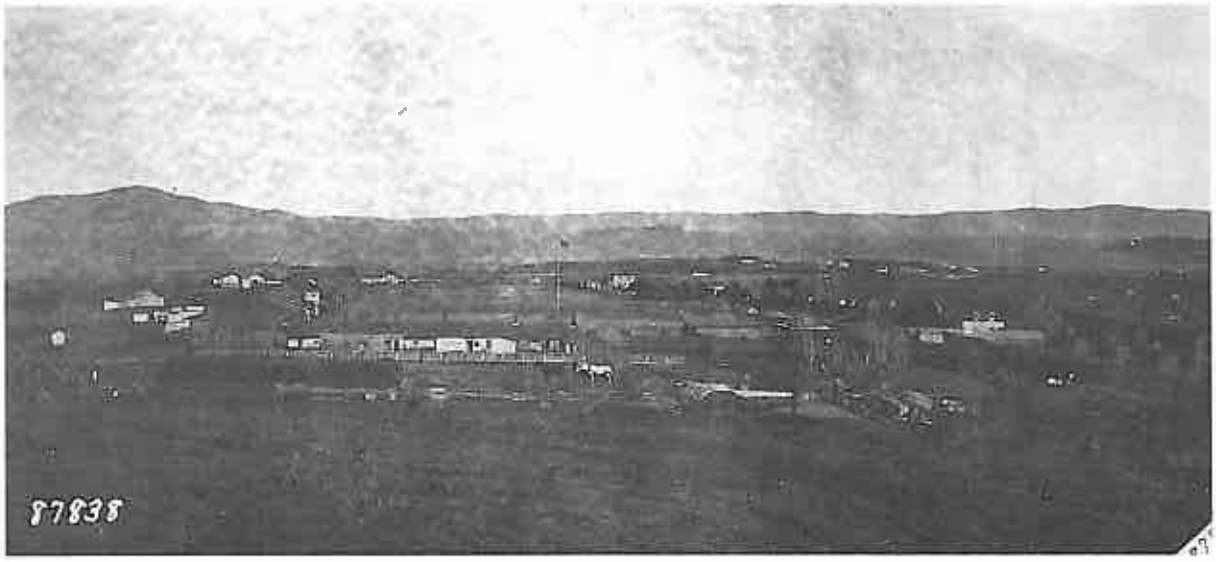
4. Officer's quarters [13], identical to 3

5. Officer's quarters [12], identical to 1, except
   Ell: 1 1/2 story, 16 feet by 24 feet
   Attic: 14 feet by 15 feet
   Additional servant's room: 10 feet by 12 feet

6. Officer's quarters [11], residence of division quartermaster, identical to 1, except
   Ell: 1 1/2 story, 16 feet by 28 feet
   First floor: kitchen, washroom, buttery
   Addition to first floor of ell: two servants' rooms 10 feet by 12 feet each

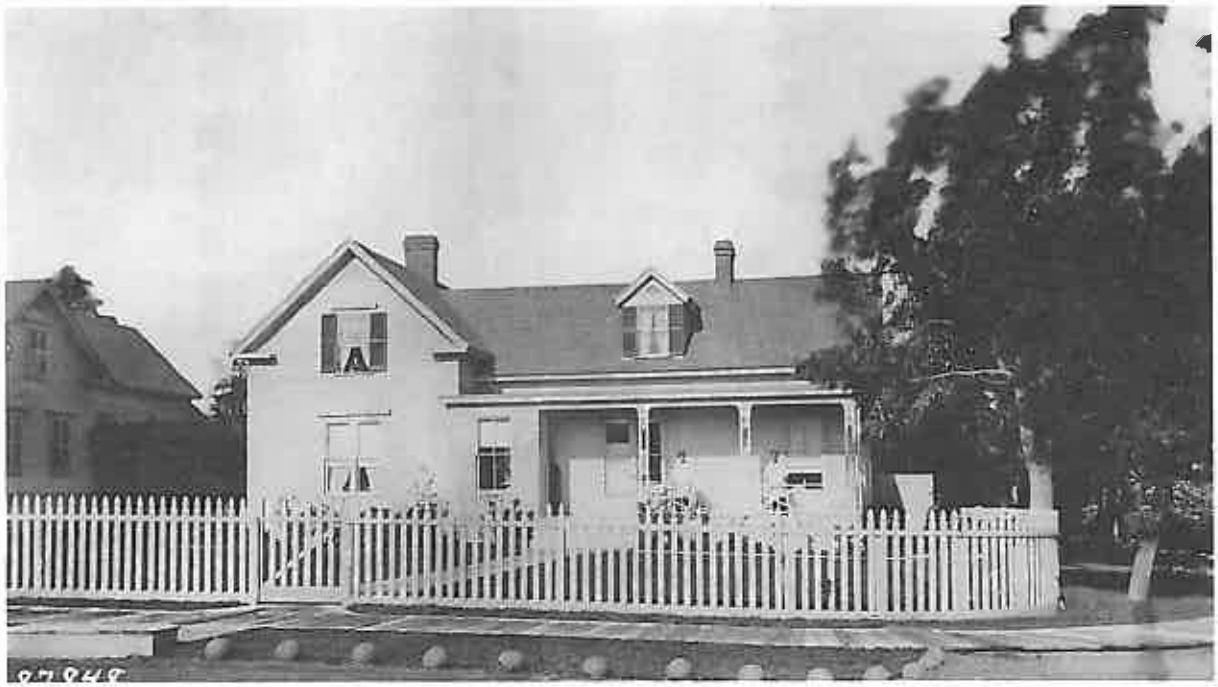


From a map by Captain William Jones, CE, National Archives, Record Group 77. NPS drawing no. 641-20486.



Above: Presidio of San Francisco from high ground to the south looking north toward the Marin hills in the distance. The white building in the near foreground is the future adobe officers' club, 50. The flagstaff stands in the center of the old parade. Officers' row is on the right. Circa 1878. *National Archives photograph.*

Below: Civil war officer's quarters, today's building 11, on officers' row and adjacent to The Alameda. Unshellacked cannon balls line the curb. Part of today's building 12 is on the left. View toward the west. *National Archives photograph.*



7. Officer's quarters [10] (earliest notice of bay windows), identical to 1, except
   Addition: 1 story, 12 feet by 23 feet, bathroom, water closet, bedroom

8. Officer's quarters [9], identical to 1, except
   Ell: 1 1/2 story, 16 feet by 24 feet
   Attic: 1 room, 14 feet by 15 feet

9. Officer's quarters [8], identical to 1, except
   Ell: 1 1/2 story, 16 feet by 24 feet
   First floor: kitchen 14 feet by 15 feet, washroom, buttery
   Attic: 1 room, 14 feet by 15 feet
   Addition to ell: servant's room, 10 feet by 12 feet

10. Officer's quarters [7] (sitting room had a bay window), identical to 1, except
    Ell: 1 1/2 story, 16 feet by 24 feet
    Addition to ell: servant's room, 10 feet by 13 feet

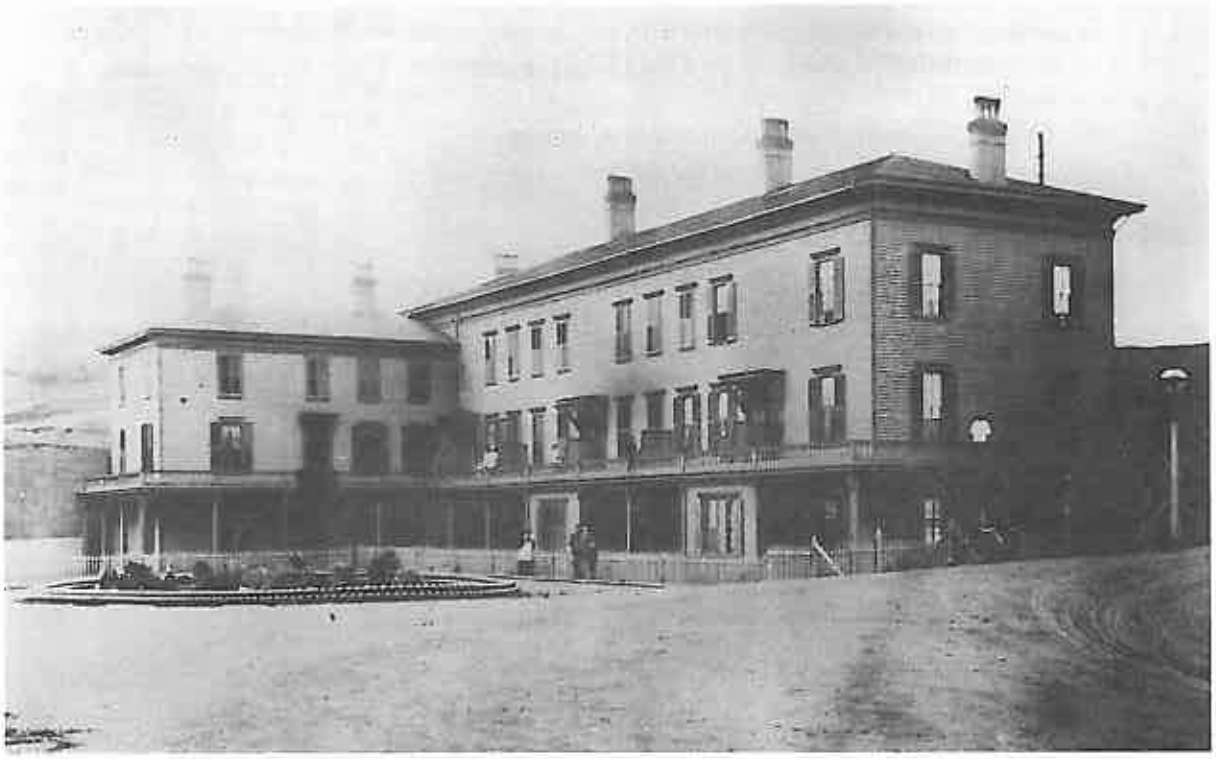
11. Officer's quarters [6], identical to 1, except
    Ell: only 1 room in attic, 14 feet by 15 feet

12. Officer's quarters [5], identical to 1, except
    Ell: 1 1/2 story, 16 feet by 24 feet
    Attic not listed
    Addition to house: conservatory, 6 feet by 26 feet

13. Officer's quarters [4], 1 1/2 story, wood frame, 33 feet by 42 feet
    First floor: 4 rooms
    Attic: 3 rooms
    Ell: 1 story, 23 feet by 31 feet, kitchen, bathroom, washroom, pantry
    Outbuilding: 10 feet by 16 feet, wood and coal shed

14. Officer's quarters [49] (former school house) on south end of the parade ground adjacent to the adobe post headquarters, one story, 30 1/2 feet by 36 1/2 feet
    Four rooms: parlor, sitting room, dining room, bedroom, hall
    Ell: 16 feet by 41 1/2 feet, kitchen, pantry, 2 servants' rooms
    Addition: 9 feet by 10 feet, bathroom and water closet
    Covered porch on front of building and side of ell: 10 feet by 34 feet. Covered porch on kitchen: 4 feet by 30 feet
    Outbuilding: 8 feet by 12 feet, wood and coal shed

15. Officer's quarters, on west side of parade and near the adobe post headquarters, wood frame, 1 1/2 story, 21 feet by 42 feet
    Attic: 2 rooms (first floor not described)
    Wing, 1 1/2 story, 19 feet by 21 feet
    First floor: dining room, 13 feet by 18 feet
    Attic: 1 bedroom, bathroom



Bachelor officers' quarters "the Corral," constructed during the Civil War at the south end of officers' row. Burned September 9, 1899. Note the landscaping enclosed with cannonballs. View toward the southwest. C. V. Lange photograph. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Addition to wing: 21 feet by 27 feet, kitchen, pantry, washroom, servant's room
Outbuilding: 10 feet by 18 1/2 feet, wood and coal shed

16. Officers' quarters, duplex, adobe, 1 1/2 story, 43 1/2 feet by 86 1/2 feet, veranda on front 7 feet wide. Each set:
    First floor: parlor dining room, bedroom, hall (kitchen?)
    Attic: 4 bedrooms, trunk room
    Ell: 1 story, adobe, pantry, laundry, bathroom, hall
    Addition: 4 feet by 7 feet, water closet
    Four dormer windows on front of attic story

17. Bachelor officers' quarters, "the Corral," remodeled into family quarters, wood frame, 3 story, 32 feet by 114 feet, wing 30 feet by 40 feet. 39 rooms divided into 7 sets of quarters complete with bathrooms and water closets
    4 outbuildings, 9 feet by 20 feet, wood and coal sheds, servants' closets
    (The corral burned in 1899 and in 1904 today's Pershing Hall [42] replaced it)

18. Post chapel [45], 1 story, wood frame, 24 feet by 45 feet
    Chancel: 9 feet by 11 feet
    Robing room: 5 feet by 8 feet

Entry way: 5 feet by 8 feet
Auditorium: 24 feet by 35 feet
17 pews seating 102 persons
Front vestibule: 4 1/2 feet by 8 feet

19. Post schoolhouse (second, built ca. 1879) adjacent to chapel
    Two additions: 6 feet by 18 1/2 feet each, hallways and water closets

20. Post headquarters [50], 1 story, adobe, 23 feet by 160 feet
    Three halls: 6 feet by 16 feet each
    Post commander's office: 12 1/2 feet by 16 feet
    Post adjutant's office: 13 feet by 16 feet
    Court martial room: 16 feet by 43 feet
    Witness room: 12 feet by 43 feet
    Library: 16 feet by 30 1/2 feet
    Front and rear covered porches: 5 feet wide
    Recommendation: construction of an assembly room, 30 feet by 55 feet

21. Officer's quarters, adobe, 30 1/2 feet by 44 1/2 feet
    First floor: parlor, sitting room, dining room, bedroom
    Attic: 4 rooms
    Wing: 14 feet by 34 feet, pantry, kitchen, laundry, servant's room
    Addition: 6 feet by 19 feet, bathroom and water closet
    Outbuilding: 8 feet by 12 feet, wood and coal shed
    This set was being converted into one set of captain's quarters, electric bell system and tile hearths in parlor and dining room being installed

22. Field officer's quarters, 2 story, wood frame, 46 feet by 47 1/2 feet, covered porch on front 10 feet wide. (Until 1884 this structure had served as the office of the Division Engineer. In 1884 it was converted into one set of field officer's quarters. By 1906 this was the post commander's residence. The Pershing family lived here at the time the building burned, 1915.)
    First floor: parlor, bedroom, sitting room, dining room, bath
    Upper floor: 4 bedrooms, bath, hall
    Ell: 19 1/2 feet by 20 feet
    First floor: kitchen, laundry, pantry, buttery
    Upper floor: 2 servants' rooms, hall
    Outbuilding: 10 feet by 16 feet, wood and coal shed

23. Guardhouse, 2 story, wood frame, with belfry, 31 feet by 39 feet, upper and lower porches 10 feet by 39 feet connected by an outside stairway on side of building
    First floor: main guardroom, sleeping room, wash room, 8 cells 5 feet by 8 1/2 feet each, hall
    Upper floor: prison room and a room with 6 cells
    Outbuilding: 12 1/2 feet by 15 1/2 feet, water closets
    (The belfry was added in 1884, as was a fence around the building)

Wood frame barracks on the west side of the old parade ground, mostly built from 1862 to 1864. Shown here in 1893. The two barracks at extreme left served as headquarters for the Military Division of the Pacific, 1878-1887. Dogs and cats have been a part of Presidio life at least since the mid-19th century. *National Archives, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, 92-F-50-10.*

24. Headquarters offices, Division of the Pacific and Department of California (formerly two 1-story barracks and two mess room/kitchens, all wood frame
    1. (former barracks), 1 story, 30 feet by 80 feet, 10-foot covered porch on front and one end
       Offices: assistant adjutant general [2 rooms], judge advocate, halls, commanding general, toilet, aides' room, water closets, mail room
    2. (former barracks), 1 story, 30 feet by 80 feet, 10-foot covered porch on front
       Offices: assistant inspector general, medical director, chief commissary, chief paymaster [2 rooms], chief quartermaster [2 rooms], telegraph office, janitor, halls, water closets.
    3. (former mess hall) 1 story, 18 feet by 57 feet
       Office for clerks assigned to assistant adjutant general
       Addition, 32 1/2 feet by 35 1/2 feet, printing office
    4. (former mess hall), 2 story, 18 feet by 100 feet
       First floor: clerks for quartermaster and depot quartermaster, and office for depot quartermaster
       Second floor: clerk for medical director, engineer officer's office, library, and his storeroom, photographic rooms
       A covered hallway, 10 feet by 34 feet, connected the four buildings

25. Storeroom, depot quartermaster and post commissary, 1 story, wood frame
    Covered front porch: 12 feet wide
    Room at end of porch: engineer officer's storeroom
    Quartermaster storeroom: 29 feet by 82 feet
    Commissary storeroom, office, sales room, storeroom: 70 feet long
    Ell to end of building: 25 feet by 29 1/2 feet, with basement

26. Post ordnance storeroom, 1 story, wood frame, 18 feet by 51 feet
    One room 17 feet by 17 1/2 feet, and one room 17 feet by 33 feet

27. Shops, depot quartermaster, wood frame, 30 feet by 150 feet
    Three shops: carpenter, saddler, and blacksmith — wheelwright, plumber-thinner
    Three blacksmith forges and fire furnace

28. Forage house, 1 story, wood frame, 31 feet by 149 feet
    Main floor: forage and straw
    Stone-walled basement: 32 feet by 150 feet, walls 8 1/2 feet high

29. Post library, recreation room, etc. (former barracks and kitchen/mess hall connected by a covered hallway 6 feet by 29 1/2 feet)
    Front building (barracks): 30 feet by 80 feet, covered porch on front 10 feet wide
        Functions: library, billiard room, storeroom, room for transient soldiers (casuals)
    Rear building: 18 feet by 70 feet
        Functions: bathroom, kitchen, draftsman's room

30. Barracks, 1 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 80 feet, covered porch on front 10 feet wide, squad room 29 feet by 79 feet

31. Kitchen/mess room, 1 story, wood frame, 18 feet by 104 feet. Containing first sergeant's room, storeroom, 2 bathrooms, mess room, kitchen

32. Band barracks, 1 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 80 feet. Containing musicians' room, sleeping room, storeroom, band leader's room.

33. Kitchen/mess room, 1 story, wood frame 18 feet by 61 feet. Containing mess room, kitchen, bath and washroom

34. Barracks, 1 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 80 feet. Containing two squad rooms and orderly room

35. Kitchen/mess room, 1 story, wood frame, 18 feet by 61 feet. Containing wash room, kitchen, mess room

36. Water closets, 15 1/2 feet by 21 feet, brick vault.

The Presidio's two cavalry barracks, possibly originally one story, at the north end of the old parade ground, circa 1893. In the 1880's these were numbered 37 and 72; today, 86 and 87. View from the old parade ground looking west. *National Archives photograph.*

37. Barracks for Troop M, 1st Cavalry, 2 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 120 feet, 10-foot wide porch on both floors
    First floor: company office, 1st sergeant's room, storeroom, kitchen, pantry, cook's room, mess room, bath and wash room (3 tubs), recreation room
    Upper floor: squad room 29 feet by 119 feet
    (This barracks may be current building 86 and may have been converted to 2 stories in 1884)

38. Barracks for a light artillery company, 2 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 120 feet, 5-foot outside staircase on rear of building, 12-foot porch on front of both floors connected by two 5-foot outside stairs
    First floor: kitchen, storerooms, mess room, library, office, equipment room, wash room (1 tub)
    Upper floor: squad room 29 feet by 119 feet; two noncommissioned officers' rooms, one on either end of upper porch

39. Water closet, wood frame, 15 feet by 20 1/2 feet, brick vault

40. Bakery #1, 1 story wood frame, 18 feet by 55 feet, brick oven.

41. Bakery #2, 1 story, wood frame, 18 feet by 42 feet, brick oven (out of repair in 1884)

42. Cavalry guardhouse, Troop M, 1st Cavalry, 1 story, wood frame, 15 feet by 15 feet.

43. Post stables, 1 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 66 1/2 feet, loft for hay and straw, twelve 5-foot stalls, carriage room, harness room, granary

Light artillery barracks at the north end of barracks row (site of the present parking lot north of building 87). One of five barracks built on the hill south of today's officers' club, 50, in 1865; it was moved in 1875 into a new position west of the post hospital at the north end of the parade ground and remodeled. It was moved again in late 1878 or 1879 into the location shown here. The single story 1863 barracks visible at the left became a two-story barracks in 1884 and survives as building 87. *National Archives photograph.*

44. Stables, Troop M, 1st Cavalry, wood frame, 30 feet by 215 feet, dispensary, granary, storeroom, 74 5-foot stalls, loft for hay and straw

45. (The report did not list a building for this number. A 1906 map showed a very small structure, probably a sentry box/guard post in the stable area)

46. Stables, for the light artillery battery
    Front end: office, harness room, dispensary, granary, 2 box stalls
    Stable: 30 feet by 179 feet, 74 5-foot stalls
    Loft: hay and straw
    (In 1884 a fence 12 feet by 275 feet was constructed between the cavalry [44] and artillery [46] stables)

47. Artillery and cavalry shops, 1 story, wood frame, 16 feet by 66 feet
    Artillery: shoeing shop, saddler shop, forge
    Cavalry: shoeing shop, saddler shop, forge

48. Depot Quartermaster stable, 1 story, wood frame, 60 feet by 130 feet, harness room, storeroom, 90 5-foot stalls

49. Granary, 1 story, wood frame, 16 feet by 26 feet, 2 rooms

50. Gun shed, wood frame, 30 feet by 182 feet
    Gun shed, wood frame: 30 feet by 90 feet by 9 feet. Upper portion occupied as

Catholic chapel
Sleeping room for civilian employees: 30 feet by 90 feet
Addition: 29 feet by 55 feet, mess room, kitchen, and storeroom for teamsters' mess

51. Wagon sheds, wood frame, 24 feet by 180 feet, carriage paint shop at one end

52. Pumping works, 1 story, wood frame, 20 1/2 feet by 47 feet, tool room, 2 engine rooms, boiler space, coal room, brick chimney 55 1/2 feet tall

53. Station, terminus Presidio & Ferries Railroad Company, 1 story, wood frame, 20 feet by 36 feet, 2 waiting rooms
    Two additions: storeroom 10 feet by 10 feet, urinal 10 feet by 10 feet

54. Gate house, Lombard Street, 1 story, wood frame, 13 1/2 feet by 25 1/2 feet, 2 rooms
    Ell: 12 feet by 16 feet, 1 room, porch in front

55. Gate house, 1st Avenue [Arguello Boulevard], 1 story, wood frame, 13 feet by 18 feet
    Addition: 9 feet by 11 feet

56. Married enlisted men's quarters, 1 story, wood frame, four rooms, hall

57. Band stand, 12-foot octagon

58 and 59. At Fort Mason

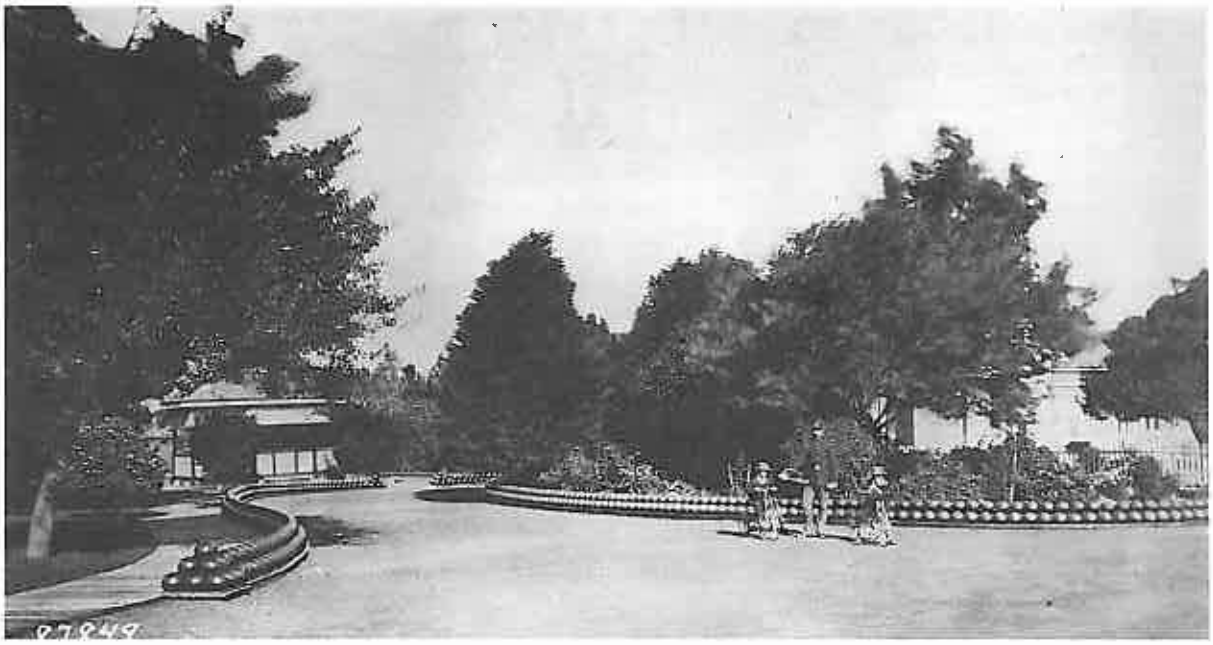
60. Married enlisted men's quarters, triplex, 1 1/2 story, wood frame, 28 feet by 90 feet
    First floor: 12 rooms
    Attic: 6 rooms
    Covered porch on front

61. Married enlisted men's quarters, 4 sets, 1 1/2 stories, wood frame, 28 feet by 49 feet
    First floor: 4 front rooms, 4 kitchens
    Attic: 4 rooms
    Covered porch on front

62. Married enlisted men's quarters, 4 sets, 1 story, wood frame, 28 feet by 60 feet, 4 front rooms, 4 kitchens, covered porch on front

63. Married enlisted men's quarters, 4 sets, 1 story, wood frame, 28 feet by 60 feet, 4 front rooms, 4 kitchens, covered porch on front

64. Married enlisted men's quarters, 4 sets, 1 story, wood frame, 28 feet by 60 feet, 4 front rooms, 4 kitchens



The Alameda (the entrance to the parade ground) at the mid-point of officers' row. Bandstand is to the left, rear. Circa 1880 view toward the west. *National Archives photograph.*

65. Married enlisted men's quarters, 4 sets, 1 story, wood frame, 28 feet by 60 feet, 4 front rooms, 4 kitchens, covered porch on front

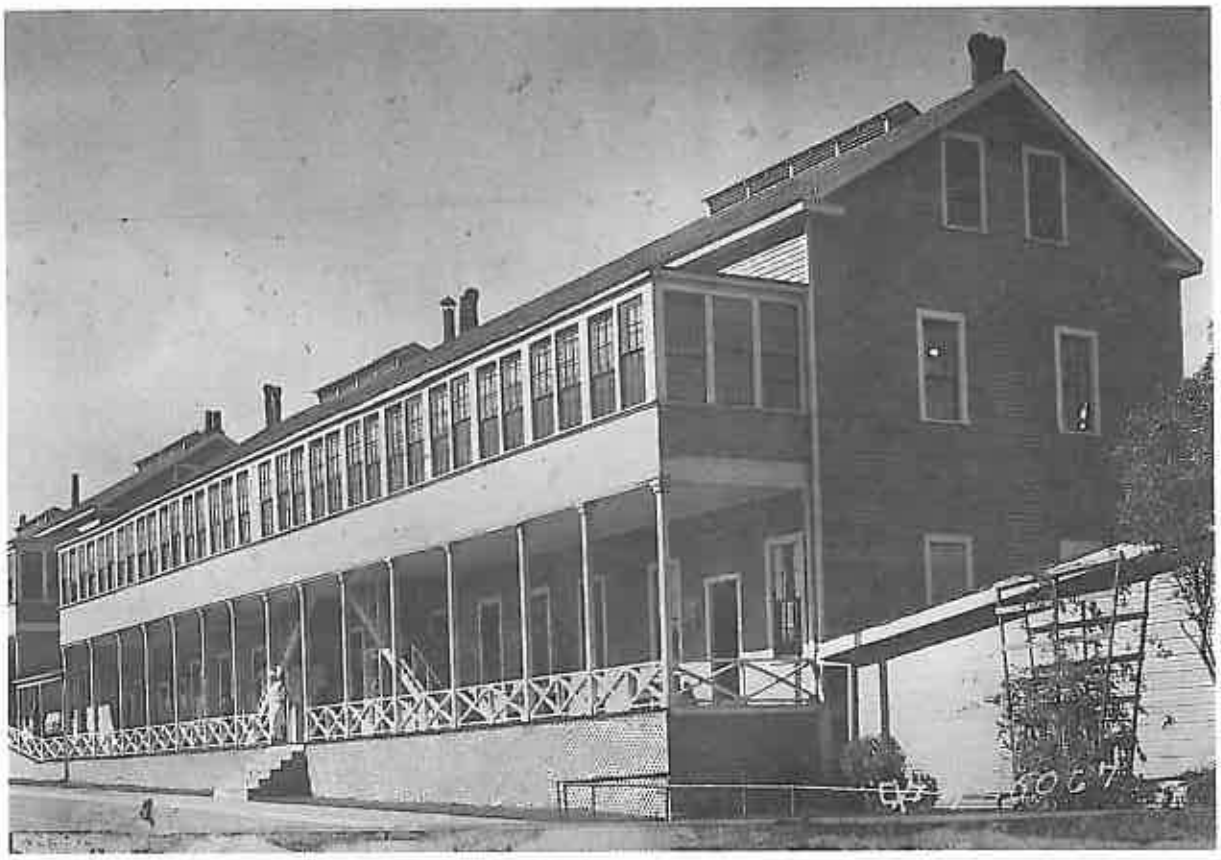
66, 67, 68, and 69. Same as 65

70. Married enlisted men's quarters, duplex, 1 1/2 stories, wood frame, constructed for two noncommissioned officers with families, 18 feet by 50 feet, kitchen part 15 feet by 30 feet
    First floor: 2 halls, 2 front rooms, 2 kitchens, 2 bedrooms
    Attic: 4 rooms

71. Hose house, wood frame, 12 feet by 25 1/2 feet, 3 double doors.

72. Barracks for Troop I, 1st Cavalry, 2 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 120 feet, 10-foot porch along front of both floors
    First floor: office, 1st sergeant's room, storeroom, kitchen, pantry, cook's room, mess room, hall, stairs, bath and wash room (3 tubs), recreation room
    Upper floor: squad room
    (It was converted to 2 stories in 1884. Although the two cavalry barracks 37 and 72 [86 and 87] were given the same length in 1884, the original 1-story structures differ in length by 15 feet, and today building 87 is longer than building 86)

73. Stables for Troop I, 1st Cavalry, wood frame, 30 feet by 215 feet, dispensary, granary, storeroom, 74 5-foot stalls, loft for hay and straw, built in 1884



Cavalry barracks, today's building 87, built as a one-story building during the Civil War. The second story was added in the 1880s. Photograph, circa 1939, shows exterior stairways. *Quartermaster Building Record Books, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

74. Guard house for Troop I, 1st Cavalry, at stables, 1 story, wood frame, 15 feet by 15 feet. Built in 1884 (see number 45, above)

75. Shops, for Troop I, 1st Cavalry, wood frame, 16 feet by 32 1/2 feet, shoeing shop, saddler shop, built in 1884

76. Guard house, for Light Battery K, 1st Artillery, wood frame, 15 feet by 15 feet, built in 1884

A year later Humphrey drafted a long list of future improvements needed at the Presidio. Among them were plans for converting more barracks to two stories. While that was not accomplished, his idea to add a large number of bay windows to the officers' quarters was eventually realized. He listed a variety of paints and other materials for the improvement of post headquarters 20 [50]: 20 pounds of Portland cement, white lead, golden ochre, raw umber, raw sienna, burnt umber, coach black, Indian red, ivory drop black, copal varnish, and

coach Japan dryer. Humphrey's estimate for all this work came close to $87,700, at a time when such funds were almost nonexistent.[54]

As much as Captain Humphrey's report contributed to a thorough description of the main post area, another report, prepared by a division quartermaster, Col. Judson D. Bingham, in 1886 added further detail:

5. Officer's quarters [12]. Bay window constructed

20. Construction of frame assembly room to the adobe post headquarters [50] completed. Description:
    Adobe: 23 feet by 160 feet, 1 story, 4 rooms
    Frame: 30 feet by 55 feet, 1 story, 1 room
    Frame: 18 feet by 23 feet, 1 story, 2 rooms
    Condition: good
    This assembly room replaced the court martial room

Ten existing structures had not appeared on Humphrey's list:

78. Cow stables, 1 story, wood frame, 12 feet by 145 feet

79. Scale house, 1 story, wood frame, 18 feet by 24 feet

80. Water closet, 1 story, wood frame, 8 feet by 12 feet

81. Oil house, 1 story, brick, 17 feet by 22 feet, one room

82. Water closet, 1 story, wood frame, 16 feet by 20 feet

83. Gate house, 1 story, wood frame, 12 feet by 16 feet (probably at the Presidio Boulevard entrance and built ca. 1883-1886 at a cost of $667. The Lombard Street and Arguello Boulevard entrances had gate houses adapted from former laundresses' quarters)

84. Corral for sick animals

85. Magazine, 1 story, stone, 24 feet by 28 feet

86. Post hospital, 2 story, wood frame, 40 feet by 82 feet, 12 rooms

87. Hospital Steward's quarters, 1 story, wood frame, 24 feet by 36 feet, 4 rooms. Ell, 8 feet by 16 feet

Bingham then listed seven new buildings:

88. Barracks [36], 2 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 96 feet, 10 rooms Constructed in 1885

(This barracks stood on the north end of the parade and east of old building 38, or approximately where 38 had stood when it was first moved to the north end of the post)

90, 91, 92 and 93 [56, 57, 58 and 59]. Field Officers' Quarters

Each building — 2 story, 17 feet by 32 feet, 7 rooms
Front wing: 16 1/2 feet by 17 feet
Rear wing: 13 1/2 feet by 22 1/2 feet

The secretary of war authorized $12,400 for these four field officers' quarters in 1885. General prisoners excavated for the basements and foundations. Mr. F. Crowley won the construction contract ($11,000) and began work. A modification in 1886 added wood and coal sheds, servants' water closets, and 832 feet of sidewalk. Because Crowley failed to complete the four structures within the specified time, the Army ordered him to cease work. The Quartermaster Department took possession of the buildings and had the work completed. By August 1866 all that was left to do was increasing the chimney heights in order to carry off the smoke. These four buildings stood on opposite sides of Presidio Boulevard, east of the Funston Avenue officers' row.

89. Barracks, 2 story, wood frame, 30 feet by 96 feet, 10 rooms. It stood east of barracks 88, the two blocking off the north end of the original parade ground

94. Water closet, 1 story, wood frame, 16 feet by 30 feet[55]

In Humphrey's 1884 account, the upper floor of the gun shed (former building 50) served as a chapel. Most likely Catholics at the Presidio attended this temporary chapel, the post chapel and chaplain being Episcopalian ever since the Civil War. In 1883 adherents to the Roman Catholic Church at the Presidio requested that a chapel be built for them on the post. This request reached all the way to Secretary of War Robert Lincoln, who refused to grant approval. Newspapers quickly picked up the story, the *New York Times* heralding, "Why Secretary Lincoln Refused a Permit to Build a Church." It quoted Lincoln as saying in the *San Francisco Bulletin* that the refusal had caused "some abuse of me in the newspapers, but I have not been disturbed by it." He added, "I am entirely opposed to giving anybody the use of Government land without the authority of an act of Congress and I refuse requests of this

Above: Presidio post hospital, 2, constructed in 1864. The flat-roofed ell in front was a morgue. A wood frame structure on top of it had been a prisoner's ward. This unit was removed, remodeled, and became quarters for the hospital steward, the smaller building to the left. View toward the northwest. *National Archives photograph.*

Below: East elevation of the hospital steward's quarters, formerly the prison ward when part of the post hospital. It possibly also served later as officers' quarters when such became scarce. The photograph, circa 1939, suggests it became a duplex. Date of demolition unknown. Note barracks 35 in the background. *Quartermaster Building Record Books, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

kind whether they are from railroad corporations or religious societies of any denominations."[56]

The issue did not die. In October, the quartermaster general, Brig. Gen. Samuel Holabird, who earlier had been stationed at the Presidio, wrote that he knew personally that the Episcopal chapel at the Presidio answered for those who attended the Episcopal service. He understood that a new chapel was required for Catholic worship, which included the majority of the enlisted men. "The old Chapel answers its purpose well, but it is very small. It is a handsome diminutive structure of Redwood; it was never intended to seat the entire garrison. The Chaplain is an Episcopalian. Formerly the Catholics used one of the Barracks, then vacant. There are none vacant now." The War Department approved of a new chapel in November 1883 at a cost of $4,000 (part of which Catholics would raise) provided it was not devoted to any special denominations.[57]

Maj. Gen. John Pope, commanding the Military Division of the Pacific in 1884, remained unhappy with the decision to build a new chapel. Because of the lack of construction funds in general, would it not be better to apply the money to enlarging the present chapel, "There is already a very nice and well finished Chapel at the Post which so far as my observation goes for the last four Sundays on which I have attended service there, has never been filled or crowded in any way. It does not appear to me advisable to abandon this Chapel for a new one. It is my observation that enlisted men never attend service at Military Chapels in any considerable numbers, perhaps from the fact that the services in them are not interesting to them....Certainly I do not think this Chapel in such danger of being overrun by them as to demand immediate enlargement or a new building." Additional correspondence followed, but Catholic soldiers waited more than 40 years for a chapel of their own.[58]

Trader Beretta, apparently profiting from his store, submitted a request in 1885 to build a new residence on the post for his large family. Gaining approval, he was required to consult with both the Department of California chief quartermaster and the commander of the Quartermaster Depot as to location. He submitted two different floor plans and finally received approval for the design and the location — at the south end of the married men's row and in line with those quarters. At the last moment, Lt. Col. Alexander Piper, post commander, noticed that Beretta's porch extended 6 or 8 feet beyond the line and could see no reason why the house could not be moved back that distance.[59]

Residence of post trader Angelo Beretta, 116, built in 1885. Originally built at the south end of laundresses' row (later noncommissioned officers' row), it was moved about 1890 to this location to make room for the brick barracks, 101, visible in the background. Note the front porch and steps, now missing, and the two-tone color scheme. *Presidio Army Museum Photographic Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

The Smaller Things of Military Life

The first mention of a tennis court on the reservation occurred in 1885 when Lt. John M. K. Davis asked permission to "lay" a tennis court and a wind fence at the southeast corner of the lower parade ground (near the post hospital). The Department of California approved the request.[60]

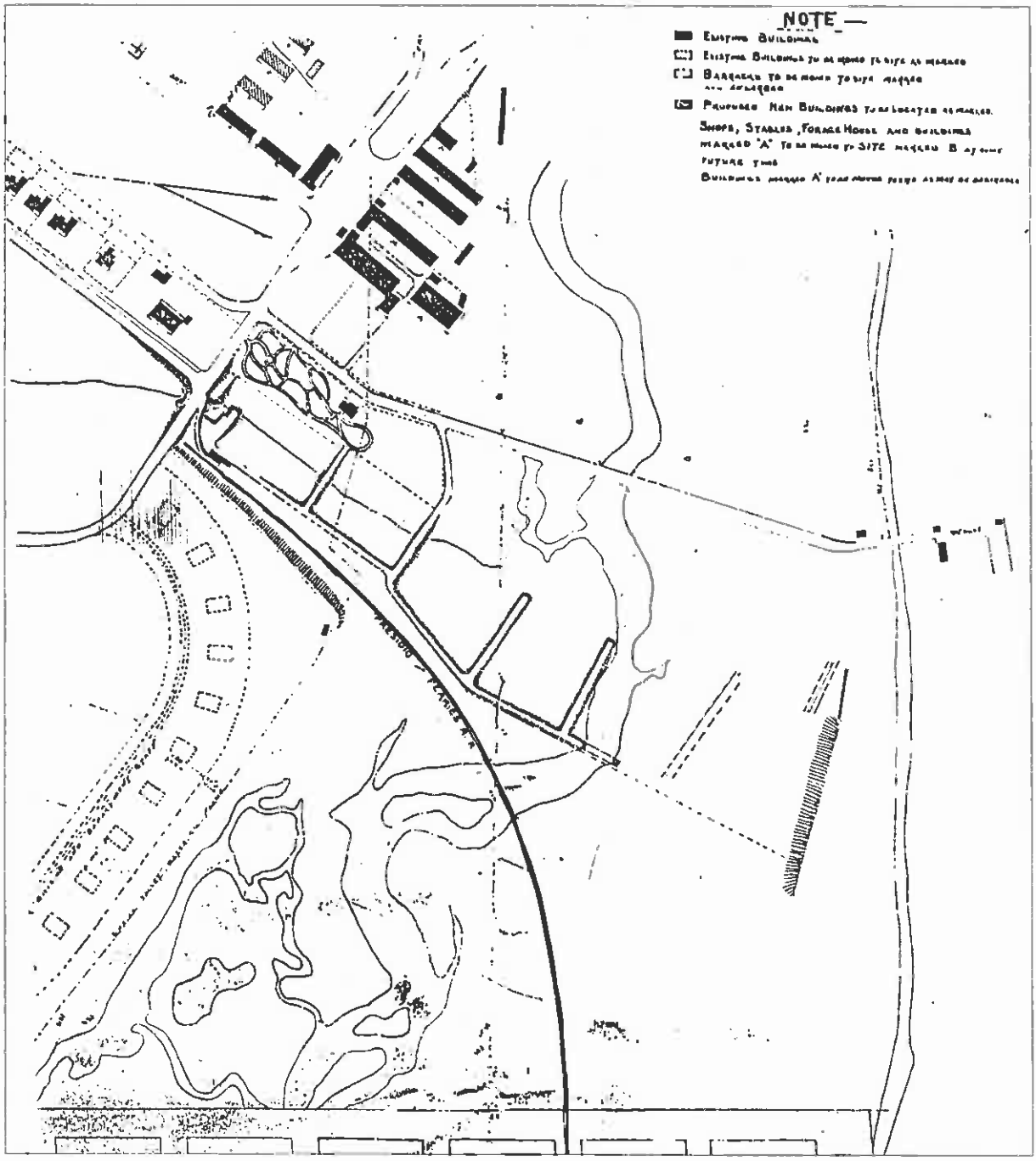
The interiors of the post buildings were always the subject of correspondence. One lieutenant sent a request for inside blinds for the front windows of his quarters, as he had to tack up newspapers over the windows in order to feel comfortable. Officers living in the Corral received a warning not to deface the walls. Any ornaments had to be suspended from the picture mouldings only and "stationary lamps should be provided with suitable smoke catchers." One artillery company reported it had 45 men but only six barracks chairs, one of which was broken. The post commander took pity and ordered 21 more from the Quartermaster Depot.[61]

Tragedy struck the cavalry stables in 1885. A curt post order directed that horses Killarney, Kicker, Kidnapper, Kadi, Kickapoo, and Kernel, Troop K, 2d Cavalry, suffering from glanders, be shot immediately.[62]

Armament at the post required attention in 1883. It then consisted of eight field guns and carriages, four mortars, a Gatling gun, two siege guns, and more than 5,000 projectiles. The post commander sought to employ an extra duty man at 35¢ a day, to pile the projectiles and to lacquer them — a dirty job that ruined clothing. A few months earlier the post ordnance officer wanted to remove the 3,000-odd cannon balls used for ornamental purposes about the post, principally at The Alameda and division headquarters. Colonel Andrews replied that the commanding general had ordered them so placed and the exasperated colonel could not order their removal, "The labor and expense bestowed upon the rows in the staff flower garden has never yet kept the shot clean more than ten days at a time."[63]

In 1881 the president of the Presidio Railroad Company, San Francisco, wrote General McDowell requesting permission to run its trains on the reservation as far as the officers' quarters. He said that the trains would run regularly every 5 or 10 minutes from the ferry landings at the foot of Market Street, via Washington Street, Montgomery Avenue, Union Street, Steiner Street, and Greenwich Street, to the Presidio. The War Department agreed to this important development. By 1884 a passenger waiting room had been erected at the terminus about 1,000 feet east of the post hospital.[64]

When the division first moved to the Presidio, the flagstaff stood in the center of the parade ground opposite The Alameda entrance. McDowell ordered a fenced roadway constructed from The Alameda, across the parade ground, passing on either side of the flagstaff, to the division headquarters. This lane was christened Flag Staff Avenue. In 1885 the division quartermaster drew up specifications for a new flagstaff and put the project out for bids. Of the two proposals received, the division awarded the contract to Middlemas and Book, San Francisco, for the sum of $235. Then came the question of where to place it. The Quartermaster Department suggested rather than the parade ground, it be erected either in front of the post headquarters at the south end of the parade, or on the grassy plot immediately to the south of the division headquarters. The post commander tactfully suggested the latter. Soon the Stars and Stripes flew from that site.[65]

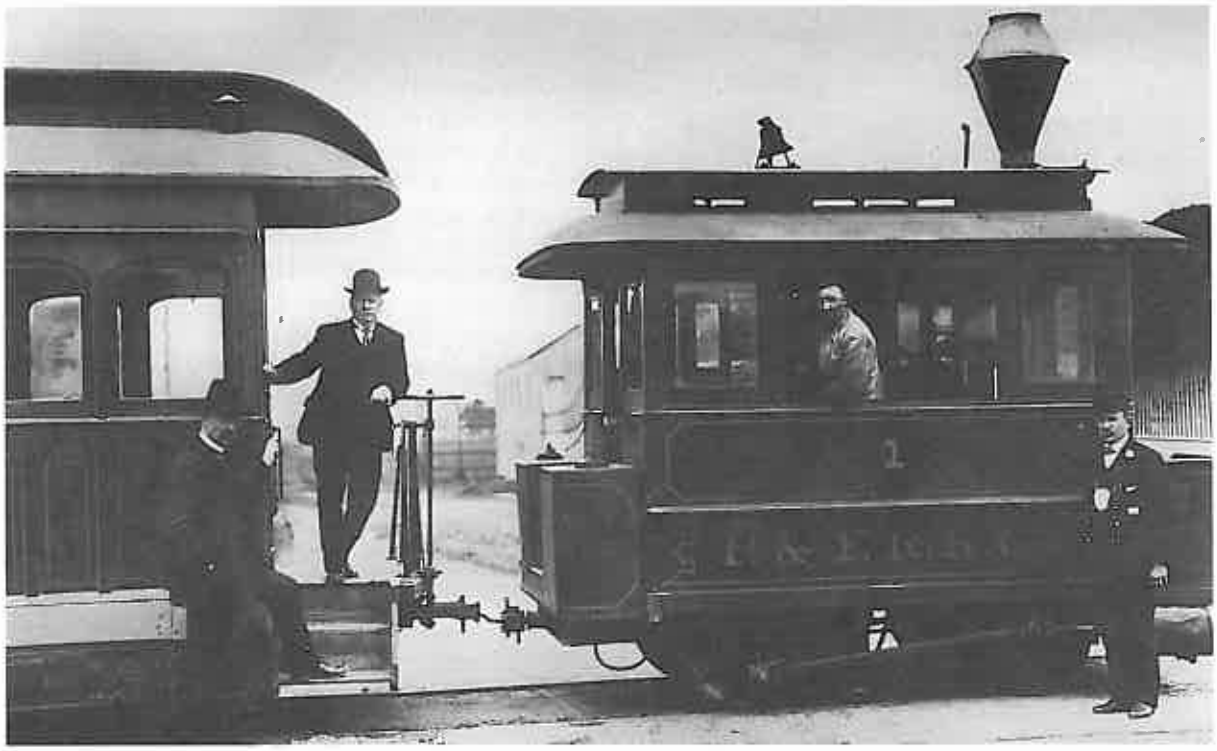


Map showing alteration and enlargement of the post at the Presidio as proposed by Capt. D. D. Wheeler, Assistant Quartermaster, U.S. Army, September 1885. The map also shows the Presidio and Ferries Railroad steam passenger line. *National Archives, Record Group 92.*

Presidio Railroad, completed in 1881. A steam "dummy" locomotive and coach just to the left of the depot is departing from the Presidio. To its left, in the center distance, a second steam dummy locomotive has spotted two flat cars in front of it to be loaded with rock and soil from the hill being leveled. The main track proceeded around the left of that hill, then curved right to exit the Presidio near Harbor View resort. This photograph was from the northeast corner of the post hospital's east porch, 2. Reorganized in 1882 as the Presidio and Ferries Railroad, the company removed the steam dummy track from the Presidio depot to Harbor View in 1892 and built a new cable car line into the Presidio from Greenwich Street. *Collection of Col. Milton B. Halsey.*

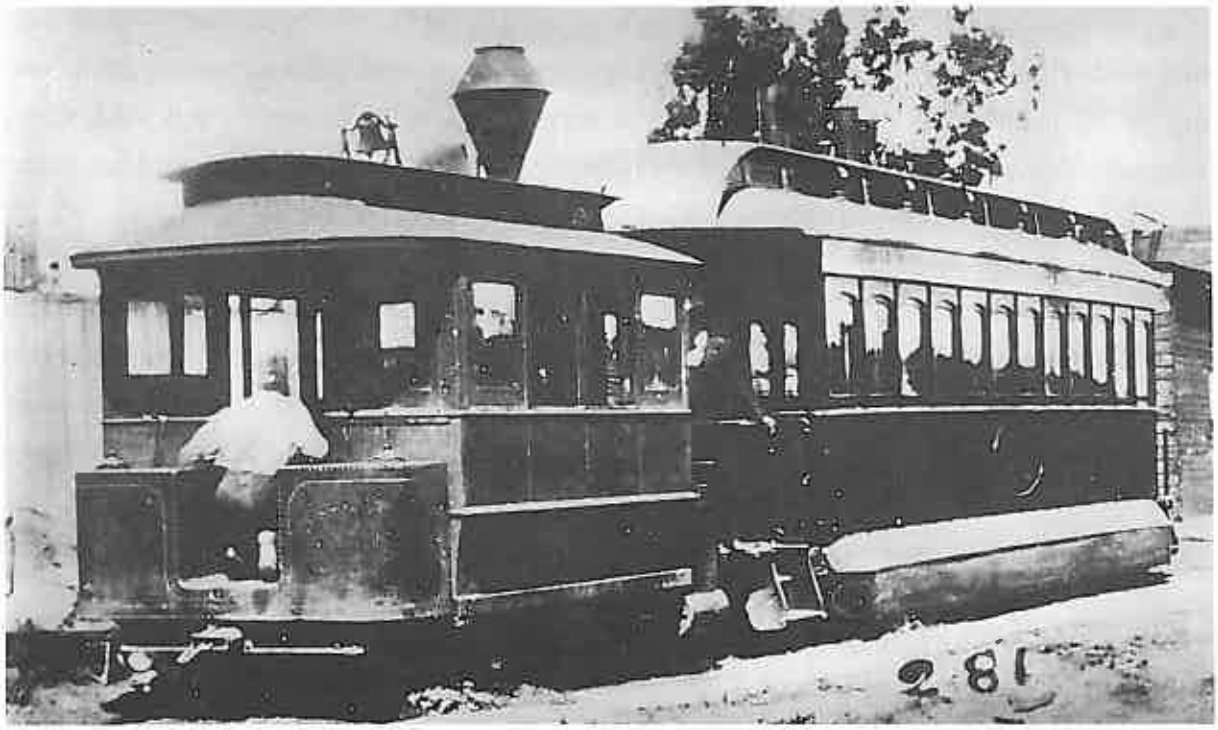
Sewers and sewage came near the top of the list of perennial subjects. An interesting circular published in 1885 announced that the musician of the Main Guard would thereafter be responsible for flushing the water closets in the rear of the barracks: "Until all the musicians of the Guard are instructed as to the proper manner of flushing the Provost Sergeant will report at the Guardhouse at retreat each day to give the instructions." Another memo noted that the privy vaults for married soldiers and civilian employees had not been cleaned for two years. An outraged post adjutant wrote in 1887 that the vault of the artillery privy had recently been cleaned only to find therein:

1 cuspidor	1 pistol
1 quart bottle	1 pipe



Above: Locomotive No. 1 and coach, Presidio and Ferries Railroad, at the Harbor View resort in 1900. This equipment operated to a depot northeast of the hospital near the intersection of today's Funston Avenue and Lincoln Boulevard from 1881 to 1892. *California State Railroad Library.*

Below: Locomotive No. 1 (an O-4-TO steam "dummy") and coach, Presidio and Ferries Railroad, the type of railroad that served the Presidio from 1881 to 1892. *California State Railroad Library.*



1 pint bottle	1 padlock
1 small bottle	1 spoon
1 lantern	3 cartridges

If, he said, such as this happened again, the soldiers would have to clean the vault personally: "The only thing to be thrown in is the necessary paper to answer a call of nature."[66]

Two additional items from this decade need to be noted. Further restrictions concerning the wooden sidewalk in the vicinity of the parade ground announced that everyone was prohibited from riding bicycles, coasting on wheels, or skating on the sidewalks. The only persons exempted from the order were those crossing the walks to get to their front yards. Finally, the bell on the guardhouse, never used as a fire alarm, was moved to the Presidio wharf for use during fog.[67]

Fort Point

The artillery troops had marched out of Fort Point in March 1868 and the Presidio had assumed custody of the wood-frame buildings that the soldiers had occupied. Army engineers continued to be responsible for the masonry and the continuing construction of East and West batteries. In 1876, however, the Congress refused to appropriate further appropriations for harbor defenses and the work came to a halt. The engineers discharged the workmen and sold off all the horses and mules — except one. This animal had reached the grand old age of 37; it had done good service; and it would have brought but little if sold. Chief Engineer Humphreys in Washington agreed that the faithful animal could have the run of the Presidio reservation until its natural death.[68]

In 1878, just as the division moved to the Presidio and the garrison downsized to make room for the newcomers, two artillery batteries, A and K, 4th Artillery, arrived at San Francisco from Washington Territory. The barracks in the masonry fort at Fort Point became their immediate home, the wood-frame barracks at Fort Point from the Civil War being uninhabitable. Hardly had the companies unpacked when the commanding general of the Army, William T. Sherman, paid them a visit.[69]

The secretary of war had already approved the sum of $3,700 for the repair of the 17 wood-frame buildings (no longer extant) at Fort Point:

Fort Point 1869. The two longer buildings to the left were enlisted barracks, later moved to the Presidio. Four of the five white buildings behind them were originally kitchens and mess halls. Later they housed laundresses. *U.S. Military History Institute.*

1. Commanding officer's quarters (the residence that Colonel DeRussy had built in 1855 at his own expense and acquired by the Army in 1865), two-story, wood-frame, 26 feet by 30 feet, and an ell, 13 feet by 24 feet, containing kitchen and pantry. A small, one-story attached office measured 16 feet by 17 feet.

2 and 3. Officers' quarters, each a duplex, built during the Civil War, two-story, wood-frame, porches, each building 31 feet by 41 feet, with wood and coal sheds and wind fences. Six rooms in each set for a total of 24.

4. Commissary storehouse, two-story, wood-frame, 20 feet by 40 feet, built in 1858 by the Engineer Department.

5. Coal shed, built 1862, one story, rough board and batten, 13 feet by 20 feet.

6. Post bakery, 1 1/2 story, wood-frame, 21 feet by 21 feet. Said to have been built in 1853; if so, engineers built it before they began construction of the fort.

7 and 8. Two barracks, each 30 feet by 120 feet, built in 1865. By 1878 the Army used these for storage. When the troops arrived they found the windows and doors missing. They described the buildings as "mere shells."

9, 10, 11, and 12. During the Civil War these had been kitchens and mess rooms for the two barracks. Each measured 16 1/2 feet by 48 1/2 feet. Now they became laundresses' quarters, their Civil War quarters farther east apparently having been razed.

13. Quartermaster stable and shed, built 1862, 20 animals, 24 1/2 feet by 55 1/2 feet. The adjoining shed measured 13 feet by 89 feet and was used for storage of hay, straw, and oats.

14. Blacksmith shop, 11 1/2 feet by 29 1/2 feet, built in 1858 by the Engineers.

15. Additional laundresses' quarters, 25 feet by 26 1/2 feet, built in 1862.

16. Ordnance sergeant's quarters, 25 feet by 26 1/2 feet, built in 1862.

17. Quartermaster storeroom and office, 30 feet by 60 feet.

Other structures at Fort Point included light keepers' residence south of the fort, lighthouse storeroom near the wharf (the quartermaster used it in 1879), ordnance yards, East and West batteries, and the engineers' compound on the bluff.[70]

At the end of 1879, steamer *McPherson* approached the Fort Point wharf with a cargo of supplies. The captain, William Ashcroft, judged the combination of a heavy swell and the worm-eaten fender piles as too dangerous for him to dock. As a result of this incident, the secretary of war authorized unspecified repairs two months later. In March 1880 he allowed $2,000 for the rehabilitation of the two barracks. The masonry fort continued to house troops but because of its darkness and dampness, the batteries rotated periodically between the two. By 1882 the upper floor of the commissary storehouse (former building 16) served as post headquarters as well as an office for the post commissary.[71]

In 1882 Fort Point prepared a report on the condition of the buildings. Among the items requiring attention, painting the officers' quarters topped the list — a lot of white lead and a

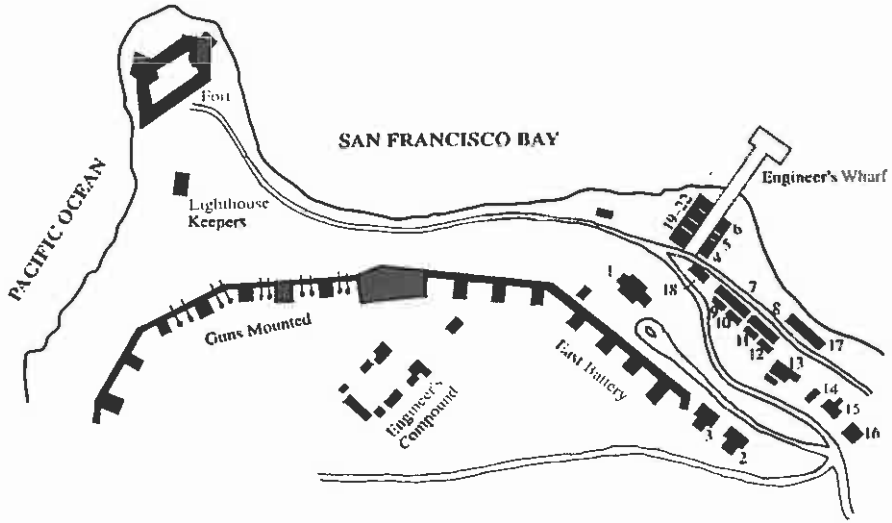
FORT POINT
1879

Presidio of San Francisco

reference north

0 150 300 600 1200

SCALE IN FEET



LEGEND

1. Commanding Officers' Quarters (originally built privately by Col. Rene DeRussy, CE, when in charge of constructing Fort Point)
2-3. Duplex Officers' Quarters
4. Commissary storehouse
5. Coal shed
6. Bakery
7-8. Barracks (originally). Storehouses (1879); eventually both moved to Main Post
9-12. Kitchens and Mess Halls (originally). Laundresses' Quarters (1879)
13. Quartermaster Stables
14. Blacksmith Shop
15. Laundresses Quarters
16. Ordnance Sergeant's Quarters
17. Ordnance Storehouse (ordnance yard between 17 and 4)
18. Lighthouse Storeroom
19-22. Engineer's Buildings (shops, storehouses, etc.)

From a photograph. Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.

Above: Fort Point from the south. Photo after 1888 when guns were removed from the barbette and third tier. Note the counter scarp gallery at lower left and the remains of West Battery in center. *Collection of George and Ray Cobb, Presidio Army Museum Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, NPS.*

Below: The fort at Fort Point. The interior face of the gorge, circa 1868. Note iron columns, iron shutters on windows, benches on the third tier, a pair of old Spanish cannon from Castillo de San Juan flanking the entrance, and the sodded parade. *U. S. War Department General Staff photograph, National Archives.*

little lamp black. The report also noted that one set of officer's quarters in the casemate housed an officer at that time. Troops now occupied the wood-frame barracks, which needed minor repairs, their overall condition being good. As to be expected, the four laundresses' quarters out back were now called the quarters for married men. They all required to be "rewashed" and painted (800 pounds of white lead and 16 barrels of redwash). Together, the four housed eight families.[72]

One building, location unspecified other than it stood near the barracks, now housed both a dispensary and a hospital steward, the dispensary in the casemates having been abandoned. Also in 1882 a clerk noted in the December post return that General Orders 133, November 25, Adjutant General's Office, headquarters of the Army, had been received. It changed the names of certain military posts at San Francisco. The Fort at Fort Point's name had become Fort Winfield Scott in honor of the late commander in chief of the U.S. Army.[73]

An inspector general visited Fort Scott in 1885. He criticized the casemate's having the guardhouse and prison because the fort continued to be damp and dreary. While this would not adversely affect the guards, prisoners would suffer if confined for long terms. He recommended removing the prisoners to the Presidio. The Presidio commander, however, protested that his guardhouse was already full. Moreover, the fort had already moved the prisoners into a wood-frame building (unidentified).[74]

A year later, in 1886, the three batteries then at Fort Scott, A, B, and C, 1st Artillery, transferred to various posts in the harbor and, once again, the area was abandoned as an independent post and returned to the Presidio's supervision. At this time its armament consisted of 129 mounted and unmounted heavy guns and two field pieces. Because of the weapons the Presidio commander wished to have an ordnance sergeant reside there. The engineers, wishing to protect their investment, requested the establishment of a guard post part way between the main post and the fort.[75]

Chapter 6 Notes:

1. *Oliver Otis Howard, Autobiography* (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1907), p. 549; Raphael P. Thian, compiler, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1913–1980* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), p. 55. Sherman had considered such moves as early as 1871, but Congress had refused to make any appropriations. E. D. Townsend, March 30, 1871 to Military Division of the Pacific, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

2. Post Returns, PSF, 1878; Post Returns, Fort Point, 1878; and Division of the Pacific Returns, 1878–1879.

3. The cost of moving the hospital wing was $66.50. Materials required were redwood, pine, shingles, laths, moulding, lime, balustrade, 30 pounds of hair, Plaster of Paris, nails, 2 doors, 3 windows, blinds, butts, locks, white lead, English ochre in oil, burnt umber, burnt sienna, Indian red, orange chrome, coach black, and chrome green. Holabird, January 10, 1879, to quartermaster general, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

4. Holabird, June 27, 1879, to quartermaster general, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA. Holabird later served as the quartermaster general, 1883–1890. The division's general service men came in small detachments from many different regiments.

5. Orders 95, May 28, and Orders 156, September 27, 1880, Post Orders 1879–1880, PSF, RG 393, NA.

6. Hasbrouck, March 13, 1879, to Superintendent, Soldiers' Home, Washington; Post adjutant, July 7, 1880, to post chaplain; Andrews, June 29, 1881, to adjutant general, all in Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

7. H. C. Hasbrouck, July 20, 1879, Post Endorsements, and October 29, 1879, to Division of the Pacific, Letters Sent, PSF; Piper, September 10, 1885, to Department of California, Letters Sent; Mrs. Mary O'Rouke, February 6, 1888, Register of Letters Received, 1887–1888; J. Coffin, August 7, 1891, and May 21, 1892, to commanding officer, Battery B, 5th Artillery, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

8. Rodney, April 28, 1879; and Andrews, 1883, both in Post Endorsements, 1882–1884; Post Adjutant, December 22, 1880, to Department of California, Letters Sent; Circular, October 3, 1885, Post Orders, 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA.

9. Post Returns, PSF, July 1879; *Daily Alta California*, July 25, 1885.

10. Pope, January 1, 1884, to commanding officer, PSF, Post Endorsements, 1882–1884; Department of California, May 2, 1887, to commanding officer, PSF, RG 393, NA.

11. Circular, September 14, 1885; Orders 203, October 3, 1885; and Orders 185, September 10, 1886, Post Orders 1885–1886; Circulars, November 11 and 18, 1887, Post Returns, 1887–1888, RG 393, NA.

12. W. Ennis, July 30, 1878, to Department of California, RG 393, Sherman, telegram, March 5, 1880, to McDowell, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Kelton, January 16, 1878, to commanding officer, PSF, Microfilm, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, pp. 132–133.

13. Heitman, *Historical Register*; McHenry, *Webster's American Military Biography*; Russell F. Weigley, "Military Thought of Schofield," *Military Affairs*, 23: 77–84; Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars, The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1891* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 194 and 219–220; L. D. Ingersoll, *A History of the War Department of the United States* (Washington: Francis B. Moheen, 1879), pp. 543–545; Howard, *Autobiography*, p. 546; Oliver O. Howard, *My Life and Experiences among Our Hostile Indians* (Hartford, 1907), p. xv (foreword by Robert M. Utley); Richard N. Ellis, *General Pope and U.S. Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970); Trevor N. Dupuy, Curt Johnson, and David L. Bongard, *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992); all the above direct quotations are from Dupuy.

14. *Daily Alta California*, May 23, 1880; Post Returns, PSF, 1877–1880. Colonel French had a long distinguished military career. Graduating from West Point in 1837, he entered the artillery. He fought in both the Mexican and Civil wars. French became a major general of volunteers during the latter and participated in the battles of Fair Oaks, Antietam, and Chancellorsville. He died in May 1881, just one year after retirement. Heitman, *Historical Register*.

15. Earlier, in April 1874, the Presidio's Post Council of Administration met to consider the propriety of spending funds to acquire 20 copies of Upton's *Tactics*. Orders 50, April 10, 1874, Special Orders, 1871–1874, PSF, RG 393, NA.

16. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Upton and the Army* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), pp. 143–146; Peter S. Michie, *The Life and Letters of Emory Upton, Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, and Brevet Major-General, U.S. Army* (New York: D. Appleton, 1885), p. 479.

17. Michie, *Upton*, p. 480. Thomas R. Tannatt had attended West Point at the same time as Upton. He had long been out of the Army.

18. Upton, January 3, 1881, to Division of the Pacific, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

19. H. C. Hasbrouck, March 15 and 16, 1881, to Miss Upton; Ambrose, *Upton and the Army*, pp. 147–149; A. B. Dyer, Post Adjutant, March 15, 1881, to Department of the Pacific, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Col. William F. Strobridge, San Francisco, kindly provided copies of Hasbrouck's two letters. Upton's *The Armies of Asia and Europe* was published posthumously in 1904. Secretary of War Ehilu Root had consulted the manuscript in his 1903 effort to reorganize the Army.

20. Weigley, *History of U.S. Army*, pp. 275–281.

21. *The Fort Point Salvo*, 2 (September 1973), quoting from the *Army and Navy Journal*, July 31, 1880.

22. Jocelyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 295. Newspaper not identified.

23. F. Fuger, January 6, 1881, Post Endorsements, 1880–1881; Andrews, April 18, 1882, and Piper, May 26, 1886, to quartermaster general, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

24. *Daily Alta California*, November 12, 1882.

25. Post adjutant, March 5, 1883, Post Endorsements 1882–1884, RG 393, NA.

26. Brooke, May 7, 1886, Register of Letters Received 1885–1886; Sanford, December 26, 1883, to Department of California, Post Endorsements 1882–1884; Harris, December 7, 1887, to Carrington, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

27. Andrews, September 23, 1883 to Department of California; Hasbrouck, December 1, 1878, to War Department; Cooper, April 22, 1886, Register of Letters Received 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA.

28. *Daily Alta California*, September 12, 1880; Erwin Thompson, "U.S. Army Headquarters, California, 1846–1946," MS.

29. Orders 158, August 7, 1885, Post Orders 1885–1886; Orders 247, November 21, 1886, Post Orders 1886–1887, PSF, RG 393, NA.

30. Adjutant general, Division of Pacific, October 22, 1886, to commanding officer, PSF, Letters Received 1886–1887; Greble, Fort Mason, November 10, 1887, to commanding officer, PSF, Register of Letters Received 1887–1888, PSF, RG 393, NA.

31. *Daily Alta California*, January 16, 1887.

32. Circular, July 3, 1887, Post Orders 1886–1887, PSF, RG 393, NA.

33. French, March 13, 1880, to Division of Pacific, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; *Daily Alta California*, November 22, 1884.

34. Post quartermaster, August 25, 1885; Department of California, November 20, 1885, both in Register of Letters Received, 1885–1886; Post adjutant, November 20, 1887, to post surgeon, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

35. Carter, July 23, 1885; commanding officer, Battery K, 1st Artillery, March 16, 1888; Department of California, May 24, 1887, all in Register of Letters Received 1885–1886 and 1887–1888, PSF, RG 393, NA.

36. Orders 238, October 8, and Orders 249, October 19, 1887, Post Orders 1887–1888, PSF, RG 393, NA.

37. Post Returns, PSF and Fort Point, 1878–1887.

38. *Daily Alta California*, August 3, 1884.

39. Orders 102, April 28, 1887; Circular, September 7, 1887, Post Orders, 1886–1887, PSF, RG 393, NA.

40. Joselyn, *Mostly Alkali*, p. 298; Orders 215, September 14, 1887, Post Orders 1886–1887, PSF, RG 393, NA.

41. Commanding officer, Light Battery K, May 28, 1884, to Department of California, Post Endorsements 1884–1885, PSF, RG 393, NA.

42. Andrews, November 19, 1884, to Inspector General, Department of California, Post Endorsements 1884–1885, PSF, RG 393, NA.

43. Orders 151, August 2, 1886, and Circular, May 28, 1887, Post Orders 1886–1887; Harris, November 26, 1887, to Frederick Innes, Palace Hotel, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

44. OQMC, May 15, 1880, to Division of the Pacific; Livingston, July 10, 1880, Post Endorsements 1880–1881, PSF, RG 393, NA.

45. *Daily Alta California*, August 16, 1885.

46. All the officers' quarters and post headquarters had an electric bell system, predecessor of the telephone, to alert officers that it was time for assembly, formations, and the like.

47. M. R. Morgan, May 1, 1866, to Division of Pacific, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; William Henry Bisbee, *Through Four American Wars, The Impressions and Experiences of Brigadier General William Henry Bisbee* (Boston: Meador, 1931), p. 234.

48. U.S. Army, *Outline Descriptions of Military Posts, 1879*, pp. 88 and 90; post quartermaster, December 31, 1880, Post Endorsements 1880–1881; Andrews, October 10, 1883, and post quartermaster, June 15, 1884, Post Endorsements, 1882–1885, RG 393, NA.

49. Andrews, October 9, 1883, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA. Goat Island Cottage was one of two sets of officers' quarters recently moved to the Presidio from Yerba Buena Island, to an unknown location probably on south end of parade. Old Adjutant's Office was moved from west side of parade to the south side near the chapel and converted to officer's quarters. Captain Sanger did not "bump" Major Randol. Sanger acquired the quarters because Randol left for Fort Winfield Scott on detached service.

50. Kelton, December 5, 1883, to commanding officer, PSF; Andrews, December 6, 1883, to Department of California, Post Endorsements, 1882–1884, PSF, RG 393, NA.

51. Baily, January 11, 1879, to Post Adjutant, PSF, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Hasbrouck, September 6, 1879, to War Department; Andrews, June 2, 1882, to Department of California, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

52. U.S. Senate, Ex. Doc. 130, 48th Congress, 1st sess., March 1884.

53. *Ibid.*

54. C. F. Humphrey, June 6, 1884, Annual Report of Buildings, PSF, and Estimate of Materials and Labor, PSF, for Fiscal Year 1885, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

55. J. D. Bingham, May 6, 1886, Annual Report of Condition of Public Buildings, PSF, 1886; "New Officers' Quarters at Presidio," n.d., CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

56. *New York Times*, August 3, 1883, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

57. Holabird, ca. October 1883, and War Department, November 15, 1883, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

58. Pope, January 26, 1884, to War Department, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

59. Department of California, September 21, 1885, to commanding officer, PSF; Beretta, October 8 and 20, 1885, to commanding officer, PSF; Piper, October 20, 1885, Register of Letters Received, 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA. The two-story residence [116] remains, minus its porch, but on a different site.

60. J. M. K. Davis, September 18, 1885, Register of Letter Received, 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA. Lawn tennis was invented in England in 1873. It came to the United States via Bermuda and the first game in the United States was

played at the Staten Island Cricket and Baseball Club, New York, in 1874. The U.S. Lawn Tennis Association organized and standardized rules and equipment in 1881. Funk and Wagnalls, *New Encyclopedia* (1986), 25:233–236.

61. L. L. Livingston, June 2, 1880, to Division of the Pacific, Letters Sent; Commanding officer, Battery D, 4th Artillery, November 21, 1880. Post Endorsements 1880–1881; Circular, October 13, 1885, Post Orders 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA.

62. Orders 212, October 14, 1885, Post Orders 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA. Glanders was a contagious, sometimes fatal disease caused by a bacillus, affecting lungs, respiratory tract, and skin.

63. Andrews, March 9, 1883, Post Endorsements 1882–1884, and July 9, 1883, to commanding officer, Benicia Arsenal, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

64. President, Presidio Railroad Company, February 1881, to McDowell and accompanying papers, Land Papers, PSF, OCE, RG 77, NA.

65. Upton, February 1, 1881, to Division of Pacific, Letters Sent; Brigham, July 2, 1885, and commanding officer, PSF, July 2, 1885, Register of Letters Sent, 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA; Humphrey, June 18, 1885, Abstract of Proposals for Construction of a Flagstaff, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA. The new flagstaff apparently was made up of metal segments, the bottom one consisting of a bundle of steel tubes held in place by steel brackets bolted around them, the whole staff supported with steel cables cinched tight with turnbuckles. A flagstaff of this type stood on the parade ground of former Fort George Wright in Spokane, Washington, in 1994. Observation by Historian Gordon Chappell, NPS.

66. Circular, March 22, 1885, Post Orders 1884–1885, PSF, RG 393, NA; Post quartermaster, July 28, 1886, Register of Letters Received 1886–1887; Post adjutant, October 15, 1887, to Artillery Batteries, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA.

67. Circular, March 22, 1885, Post Orders 1884–1885; commanding officer, PSF, October 12, 1885, Register of Letters Received, 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA.

68. Bearss, *Fort Point*, p. 258.

69. Post Returns, Fort Point, September 1878. No notice of General Sherman's visit to the Presidio at this time can be found. It is possible that he came from the city by army steamer directly to Fort Point.

70. Bearss, *Fort Point*, p. 276; Fuger, March 19, 1878, to Division of the Pacific, PSF, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; map, Public Buildings at Fort Point, 1879; U.S. Army, *Outline Description, Military Posts in the Military Division of the Pacific, 1879*, pp. 92–93.

71. Ashcroft, December 3, 1879, to "General Saxon," CCF, OCE, RG 77, NA; Haskin, January 31, 1882, in Angel Island File, and Meigs, March 26, 1880, to Division of the Pacific, PSF, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA.

72. Slaker, March 31, 1882, to quartermaster general, CCF, OQMG RG 92, NA.

73. Alder, May 1, 1882, CCF, OQMG, RG 92, NA; Post Return, Fort Winfield Scott, December 1882; Bearss, *Fort Point*, p. 284. Historian Bearss points out that at the time Fort Winfield Scott included the casemated fort, East and West batteries, and the engineer and quartermaster buildings. The order, however, did not specify boundaries. Hereinafter, the area will be referred to as Fort Scott as often as not.

74. IG Inspection, December 28, 1885, Fort Winfield Scott, Register of Letters Received 1885–1886, PSF, RG 393, NA.

75. Piper, December 26, 1886, to War Department, Letters Sent, PSF, RG 393, NA; Post Returns, Fort Scott, September 1886; Bearss, *Fort Point*, p. 323.